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ISSUES IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT (3)

# Madīnan Society at the Time of the Prophet

Akram Ḍiyā' al 'Umarī

Translated by:  
Hudā Khaṭṭāb

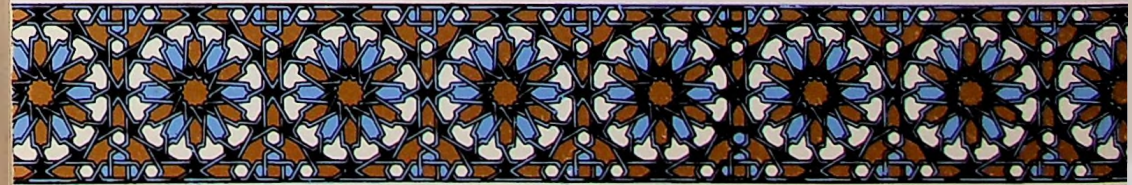


## About This Book

*Madīnan Society at the Time of the Prophet* (ŞAAS) is a work that brings out the most important aspects of life in the early Muslim community. Its author, the renowned scholar of *Sirah* and *Sunnah* Studies Professor Akram Ḍiyā' al 'Umārī, has expended a great deal of effort to make this book more than just a mere recitation of the historical record. The result is a breakthrough in historiographical methodology, as Dr. al 'Umārī has effectively succeeded in combining the strict methodological guidelines used by traditional Muslim scholars of the *Sunnah* and *uṣūl al ḥadīth* with modern methods of historical criticism.

Volume One presents an accurate description of the society brought about through the efforts of the Prophet (ŞAAS) and his Companions, the society viewed by every successive generation of Muslims as the ideal in terms of temporal and spiritual values.

Volume Two deals with the relations of the struggling new community with the forces that threatened it. Without doubt, the exemplary behavior of the Prophet (ŞAAS) and his Companions during their long years under attack has remained a continued source of inspiration for all Muslims. Its contemporary relevance and significance is obvious to all who are concerned with the current plight of the Ummah.



## Dr. Akram Diyā' al Dīn al 'Umarī



- Born at Mosul, in northern Iraq (1361/1942).
- BA (1382/1962) and MA (1386/1966) from Baghdad University in Islamic History.
- Ph.D. from 'Ayn Shams University, Cairo (1394/1974).
- Taught at Baghdad University (1386/1966—1396/1976).
- Chairman of the Department of Graduate Studies at the Islamic University of Madinah and Chairman of the Academic Council (1397/1977—1402/1982).
- Presently Professor of the History of the Sunnah at the graduate department of the Islamic University of Madinah.
- Dr. al 'Umarī has authored and edited nearly twenty works on Islamic history and, in particular, on the subject of the Prophet's *Sīrah*. Among the most important of those works are the following:

### Original Works:

- \* *Buḥūth fi al Sunnah al Mushriqah* (4 editions)
- \* *Al Mujtama' al Madanī fi 'Ahd al Nubūwah* (2 volumes) A later edition was published as *Al Sīrah al Nabawīyah al Ṣaḥīḥah*.
- \* *Al Risālah wa al Rasūl*
- \* *Qiyām al Mujtama' al Islāmī min Manẓūr Ḥaḍārī*
- \* *Al Turāth wa al Mu'āṣarah*

### Edited Works:

- \* *Al Ma'rifah wa al Tārīkh* by Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān al Fasawī
- \* *Azwāj al Nabīy* by Muḥammad bin Zubālah
- \* *Tarikat al Nabīy* by Ḥammād ibn Ismā'il al Anṣarī
- \* *Musnad Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt* by Ibn Khayyāt al 'Uṣfurī al Baṣrī (d. 240 AH)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين  
والصلاة والسلام على خاتم الأنبياء والمرسلين

وقال رب زدني علما

*In the Name of Allah,  
the Compassionate, the Merciful,  
Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Universe,  
and Peace and Prayers be upon  
His Final Prophet and Messenger.*

*"... and say: My Lord!  
Cause Me to Grow in Knowledge."*



# بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ ﴿١﴾ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ ﴿٢﴾  
 أَقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ ﴿٣﴾ الَّذِي عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ ﴿٤﴾ عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ  
 مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ ﴿٥﴾

(العلق: ١ - ٥)

Read in the name of your Sustainer, Who has Created man out of a germ cell. Read – for your Sustainer is the Most bountiful One. Who has taught (man) the use of the pen. Taught Man what he did not know. (Qur'an 96:1-5)

وَاللَّهُ أَخْرَجَكُمْ مِنْ بُطُونِ أُمَّهَاتِكُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ شَيْئًا  
 وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ السَّمْعَ وَالْأَبْصَارَ وَالْأَفْئِدَةَ  
 لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ ﴿٧٨﴾

(النحل: ٧٨)

And Allah has brought you forth from your mother's womb knowing nothing – but He has endowed you with hearing, and sight, and minds, so that you might have cause to be grateful.

(Qur'an 16:78)

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Time of the Prophet  
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Its Characteristics and Organization  
Volume II  
The Jihād Against the Mushrikūn**

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# **Madīnan Society at the Time of the Prophet**

Akram Ḍiyā' al 'Umarī

Translated by:  
Hudā Khattāb

**The International Institute of Islamic Thought  
Herndon, Virginia U.S.A.**

**1416 / 1995**



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***Its Characteristics and Organization***



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## Preface

With the publication of the first English edition of Dr. Akram Ḍiyā al Dīn al 'Umarī's *Madīnan Society at the Time of the Prophet*, The International Institute of Islamic Thought continues to encourage serious scholarship into the sources of revelation, as such scholarship is vital to the reform of existing Muslim thought. The significance of the *sīrah* of the Prophet Muḥammad, upon him be peace, is that it constitutes the all-important historical framework against which the particulars of the Sunnah may be seen in their proper perspective. The study of the *sīrah* is therefore essential to a critical understanding of the Sunnah, and it is in this context that the work of Dr. al 'Umarī assumes its importance.

There is, however, another critical aspect to Dr. al 'Umarī's work; a methodological aspect, and it is this aspect which has prompted the Institute to bring this book to the attention of the English-reading public.

Historically, the difference between the scholars of the *sīrah* and the scholars of the Sunnah has been in their critical methodology. Much of the material deemed acceptable by one group was rejected by the other, and the methods employed by hadith scholars to determine a particular hadith's authenticity were often ignored by the biographers of the Prophet. Thus the works of *sīrah*, like many of the early works of history, were filled with material gleaned from narrations that were less than authentic from a purely technical perspective. Much of that material in fact, when measured against the stringent standards of the *muḥaddithīn*, appears dubious if not outright spurious.

The contribution of Dr. al 'Umarī to this important field of *sīrah* scholarship has been to apply the traditional methods of hadith criticism to the material upon which the *sīrah* is based and then to use, from an Islamic perspective, the methods of modern Western historical research. Details of this process have been given both in the Introduction written by Dr. Khalid Blankinship as well as by the author himself in his *Prologue on Methodology for Writing the History of the First Period of Islam*.

In fact, the writing of Islamic history is arguably one of the most important tasks faced by contemporary Muslim scholarship. There is nearly general agreement that Islamic history has not received the kind of attention it deserves, especially in terms of documentation, verification, and analysis. The result of this neglect in the past was a clouded vision of Islamic history that led to the circulation of unfounded ideas in regard to several major Islamic issues and, in turn, to the destruction of unity among Muslims.

While it is true that the attention of Muslim scholars from the very beginning has been directed toward the first period of Islam, that attention has mainly been legalistic in nature. Thus, the narrations of *ḥadīth* dealing with legal matters were closely attended to, and the degrees of their authenticity or lack of it were carefully verified in accordance with rigid and sophisticated criteria. At the same time, however, narrations concerned with purely historical events and issues were treated with a great deal of leniency. This kind of indulgence led eventually to faulty and misleading



## Introduction

This work, *The Madīnan Society at the Time of the Prophet* (ŠAAS), by the contemporary Muslim scholar Akram Ḍiyā' al 'Umarī, makes a new and valuable contribution to the study of the earliest formative period of Islam by challenging some fundamental notions accepted by Western scholars of Islam and their counterparts in the Muslim world.

As Professor al 'Umarī's work shows, Western historical scholarship today faces a crisis of method in dealing with Islamic history, particularly the earliest period of Islam. Although the Western historical tradition in general insists on the highest standards of objectivity and makes the search for the truth its goal, its treatment of the formative period of Islam has tended to be influenced by its previous skeptical findings about other religious traditions, particularly the Judaeo-Christian. This, coupled with the long adversarial relationship between Muslims and Europe, as well as the personal biases of some scholars, has made for a lesser degree of quality in many of the treatments of Islam than has been the case in Western studies of other non-Western history. Besides these difficulties peculiar to Western treatments of Islam, there is also the inherent requirement that Western scholars continuously produce something new; the more contrary to the received tradition any new studies are, the better. In the Islamic field, this tendency has also wreaked havoc by providing a platform for the most fantastic and improbable speculations that do not deserve the name of scholarship.

This is not to say that Western scholars have not produced much useful work concerning the Madīnan period of the Prophet's (ŠAAS) life. But even the best work usually contains two preconceived attitudes which not only clash with the Muslim point of view but are certainly open to doubt on scholarly grounds. One is the tendency to impute materialistic motives to all historical actors. This represents an ideological view rather than a historical reality. It overlooks the possibility that people in other times and places could have completely different mentalities than the Western one. Thus, the early Islamic conquests (*futūḥāt*) are characterized as motivated by greed for booty. While the desire for booty was doubtless a motivation, as is amply attested in the Qur'ān itself, making booty the primary motive totally overlooks the possible importance of the stated goal of Islam: *to establish Allah's rule in all the earth*.<sup>1</sup> The tendency of the Umayyad caliphate to throw army after army of willing *mujāhids* into fruitless campaigns in extremely poor, bootyless mountain regions like Zābulistān witnesses to the sincerity with which many early

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<sup>1</sup>Qur'ān, 2:193, 8:39.



Muslims went out to fight in Allah's path despite the slimness of the material prospects.<sup>2</sup>

A second difference of viewpoint between most Western scholars and Muslim opinion is of even more importance, as it concerns the sources of historical information rather than speculations about motives. This is the dispute about, first, the authenticity of the Muslim prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) and, second, its value as a historical source. This dispute is of the greatest importance for the Madīnan period of the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as nearly all the *ḥadīth* refer to that period.

Western scholars have tended to reject the *ḥadīth* as being of wholly later invention owing to the lateness of its recording and a presumably long period of oral transmission.<sup>3</sup> In doing so, they reject the critical research done by early Muslim scholars who established the standards for judging the truthfulness of different *ḥadīth* in the medieval times. It is true that these scholars did not enjoy the benefits of modern technology to aid them in their research. Nevertheless, it would be perverse to reject the results of their research out of hand, for they established severe criteria which resulted in the winnowing down of the bulk of the *ḥadīth* to relatively few reports that were regarded as adequately authenticated (*ṣaḥīḥ*).

The Muslim scholars' method of *ḥadīth* criticism in fact anticipated the method of historical criticism later developed in the West, and both methods had the same goal: to get at the truth. It was entirely reasonable for the Muslims to base their acceptance of reports in the first instance on their ability to trace them to reliable sources; Western historiography does the same today in trying to judge the veracity of Herodotus, Thucydides, or Tacitus. That the Muslim scholars made some mistakes does not imply that their method should be held invalid or worthy of ridicule. Indeed, it is often vindicated when particular instances are examined; thus, the notorious Sayf ibn 'Umar al Usayyidī, whose fabrications have been rightly decried by Wellhausen and his numerous Western successors, was already condemned by the medieval Muslims in the strongest terms centuries earlier, despite the pleasingly *sunni* appearance of his reports.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Aḥmad b. Jābir al Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al Buldān*, Cairo: Dār al Nahḍah al Miṣriyyah, 1956-7, pp. 490-3.

<sup>3</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, tr. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971, v. 2, pp. 18-9 and passim; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, pp. 4-5 and passim.

<sup>4</sup> J. Wellhausen, "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin, 1899, v. VI, pp. 3-7; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, Milan, 1905-24, v. II/1, pp. 550-1, 553-4, 568, 684-5, etc; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden: Brill, 1937, suppl. 1, pp. 213-4; Erling L. Petersen, *Alī and Mu'awiyah in Early Arabic Tradition*, Odense: University Press, 1964, pp. 78-82, 150-3; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥatīm al Rāzī (d. 327/939), *al Jarḥ wa al Ta'dīl*, Ḥaydarābād, India: Dā'irat al Ma'ārif al 'Uthmāniyyah, 1372/1952, v. II/1, p. 278; Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān (d. 354/965), *al Majruḥīn min al muḥaddithīn wa al qu'afā' wa al matrūkīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid, Ḥalab: Dār al Wa'i, n. d., I, 345; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), *Mizān*

Quite aside from Muslim confidence in the literal validity of *ḥadīth* reports in the six accepted collections, particularly those of al Bukhārī and Muslim, the *ḥadīth* collections as they exist, whatever one may think of their ultimate veracity, are as old or older than most of the "historical" sources for the Prophet's (ṢAAS) life. The five most important "historical" works in chronological order are those of al Wāqidi (d. 207/823), Ibn Toman *Hishām* (d. 218/834), Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), al Balādhuri (d. 279/892), and al Ṭabarī (d. 311/923).<sup>5</sup> The collections of *ḥadīth* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875) are contemporary with the period during which these historical works were written. Other collections containing *ḥadīth* such as those of Mālik (d. 179/794) and Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) are even earlier.

Actually, it is doubtful if any distinction can be drawn between "historical" and *ḥadīth* works in favor of the former as sources on the excuse that the latter are more biased ideologically, for all of these works were produced by members of the same scholarly class. Rather, it would seem that the *ḥadīth* works represent a greater attempt at historical authentication through examination of the chain of authorities. While this may not guarantee their infallibility, it ought at least to gain them a place among the historical sources worthy to be considered and evaluated. Indeed, it would appear reasonable to examine reports with the best and complete *isnāds* first because these are precisely the ones that can be most easily checked for source.

Therefore, it is most refreshing that in the present work Professor al 'Umarī restores the balance to the study of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) lifetime by giving the *ḥadīth* its proper place as a historical source for that period. Following the methods developed by the medieval Muslims, al 'Umarī establishes the credibility of each report about an event by referring to the quality of its chain of transmission. This he accomplishes first of all by relying on those collections which early Muslims regarded highly, such as al Bukhārī and Muslim, as their reports are generally regarded as *ṣaḥīḥ*. A large proportion of *Ṣaḥīḥ* al Bukhārī in particular is devoted to historical reports, especially those of the *maghāzī*. But al 'Umarī also brings in many other collections of *ḥadīth* and sundry other historical sources. In order to judge the quality of their reports, he turns to the medieval works on the grading of transmitters of tradition, the *rijāl* books, and frequently gives extensive annotation on his findings. By these means, he attempts to establish the most creditable versions of events.

Al 'Umarī's work falls into two books. Volume One, subtitled *The Jihād against the Mushrikūn*, deals entirely with the Prophet's (ṢAAS) military campaigns (*maghāzī*). This also covers most of the political events of the Madīnan

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*al Iṣṭidāl fī Naqd al rijāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al Bajāwī, Cairo: 'Isā al Bābī al Ḥalabī, n.d., v. II, p. 255; Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al 'Asqālānī (d. 852/1448), *Tahdhīb al tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād, India: Dā'irat al Ma'ārif al 'Uthmaniyyah, n. d., v. IV, p. 295.

<sup>5</sup>This is the opinion of J. M. B. Marsden Jones, personally communicated to me in 1977.

period, as the chronological order established by the early scholars of the *sīrah* was based on the campaigns. In a brief introductory chapter on historical method, the author acknowledges the need for a combination of the traditional Muslim method of *ḥadīth* criticism with modern-style criticism derived from Western models. Following a chapter on the meaning of the principle of *jihād* in Islam, al 'Umarī discusses the campaigns themselves one at a time, examines the value of reports relating to each of them, and then describes which rules of Islamic law or practice were established during each one. This volume deals only with the campaigns against the pagan Arabs and the Byzantines, as the struggle with the Jews is included in the next volume.

Volume Two of *The Medinan Society at the Time of the Prophet* (ŠAAS) treats several diverse matters in well-constructed chapters. The first two chapters deal at length with the best historical method for treating the *sīrah* and *ḥadīth*. While al 'Umarī applies the principles of *ḥadīth* criticism to history, he acknowledges that it is necessary to be flexible in the use of these principles, because the *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan ḥadīth* alone are not sufficient to reconstruct even the main course of events. Thus, according to al 'Umarī, recourse must be had to weaker versions, but these may be used as long as they are not being cited to establish rules of law or practice (*aḥkām*), for which only *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan* reports are acceptable. Owing to the relative dearth of authenticated reports and conflicts among the weaker ones, a fair amount of disagreement may exist about certain historical points in the *Sīrah*. It is in discussing these points that al 'Umarī shows his greatest virtuosity as a scholar, marshalling material from numerous sources for analysis and sometimes acknowledging a version of events other than the well-known one. His work clearly shows how muslim scholars are able to achieve high standard of objectivity and scholarship.

The middle chapters of the second volume (III-X) examine various aspects of the life of the original Muslim polity in al Madīnah. Certain special subjects are dealt with, including the system of mutual brotherhood (*mu'ākhāh*), the poor Muslims who lived in the mosque (*ahl al Ṣuffah*), and the document generally known as the Constitution of al Madīnah. These essays are among the best of al 'Umarī's work. His treatment of the *mu'ākhāh* emphasizes that its purpose was to unite the immigrant Makkans (*muhājirūn*) with the natives of al Madīnah (*anṣār*), so that the alleged mutual brotherhood between the Prophet (ŠAAS) and 'Alī falls out and could not have occurred at the time of the *hijrah*, despite its being vouched for by famous sources. In dealing with the *ahl al Ṣuffah*, the author uses the detailed list of those included in it given by Abū Na'im's (d. 430/1039) *Ḥilyat al Awliyā'* to establish that some otherwise quite unknown persons were numbered among them. This would tend to rebut the Orientalist charge that the *ahl al Ṣuffah* were a later invention.<sup>6</sup> In his treatment of the Constitution of al Madīnah, the author carefully

<sup>6</sup>See Watt's article in *ET*, s.v. *Ahl al Suffah*.

distinguishes between an agreement made with the Jews and another with the non-Jews there.

Finally, in his last two chapters (XI-XII), al 'Umarī covers the struggle with the Jews which led to their expulsion from al Madīnah. Here his discussion follows the traditionally established version of events. He does not accept recent attempts to deny the expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqā' or the execution of the Banū Qurayzah.<sup>7</sup>

One of the most impressive aspects of the al 'Umarī's work is his use of the sources. In his bibliography and notes, one finds not only the standard "historical" *sīrah* works already mentioned, but also a plethora of other works as well. He refers to the Qur'ān whenever possible to throw light on the history of the Madīnan period. His command of the books of *ḥadīth*, which often have valuable information culled from other sources now lost, is remarkable. This is especially true of Ibn Ḥajar al 'Asqalānī's massive *Fatḥ al Bārī*, which al 'Umarī cites with great frequency. Al 'Umarī furthermore makes extensive use of often neglected historical sources, including Ibn Kathīr, as well as the very early and important Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt (d. 240/854). He discusses at several points the weakness of al Wāqidī, who, despite his earliness, seems to contain much legendary material showing signs of tendentious elaboration. He points out that al Wāqidī's student Ibn Sa'd was aware of his mentor's faults and tried to avoid them.

Western readers should find al 'Umarī's work useful because it attempts to clarify what modern Muslims believe to be true or probable about the Madīnan period of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) mission according to the received principles of *ḥadīth* criticism. In doing this, al 'Umarī attempts to produce a more accurate history by relying on what medieval Muslim scholars had determined were the most reliable reports, or at least to use their elaborately developed and refined criteria for determining which reports were most reliable. No other work in English has these features. And although many medieval Arabic works on the *sīrah* attempt to get at the truth, they usually contain a mixture of strong and weak traditions, as al 'Umarī points out extensively in his notes. Although the overall picture painted by al 'Umarī follows the traditional rendition of the *Sīrah* in its main lines, the reader will find that the author has simplified the facts to a certain extent by omitting poorly-authenticated reports or relegating them to the notes in order to give the strongest, most well-authenticated rendition of events possible.

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

Seattle, Washington

24 Rabī' al Awal 1409/3 November 1988

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<sup>7</sup>On this, see especially Barakat Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews: A re-examination*, New Delhi: Vikes Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1979, passim, though al 'Umarī does not cite him. Ahmad follows the same Islamic historical criteria as al 'Umarī (see Ahmad, p. 5).





## Foreword

Praise be to Allah, who is worthy of all praise directed to Him. May blessings and peace be upon Prophet Muḥammad, after whom there will be no Prophet, and upon his family and companions and whoever espouses his call to Allah, until the Day of Judgement.

I wrote this study over a long period and have reviewed it carefully. I tried to apply the method of criticism of the *ḥadīth* scholars to historical reports and I believe that, with Allah's help, the attempt has been useful. However, a full-time and long-term undertaking will be required in order to complete the writing of all stages of the *al Sīrah al Nabawīyah* and the early Rightly-guided Caliphs in accordance with the manner in which this study has been carried out. I hope that this will be realized soon and that researchers and students of Islamic history will discuss and critically appraise this study. We shall benefit from their views for we are at the beginning of the road as far as applying the methodology of the *ḥadīth* scholars to critical studies of historical narratives is concerned. This is a difficult task which requires a good, precise grasp of *ḥadīth* terminology, and flexibility in dealing with and understanding historical reports. I have directed and supervised a number of theses, for both Master's and Ph.D. degrees in the Department of Postgraduate Studies, which deal with the criticism of the historical reports contained in the books of *ḥadīth*, *al Maghāzī* (military expeditions) and the *Sīrah*. The aim of this research was to verify the information we have on the life of the Prophet. Some of these theses have already been completed, while others are still being researched.

In my opinion, this project, which has been carried out by the Department of Postgraduate Studies at the Islamic University of al Madīnah al Munawwarah during the past six years, should be regarded as the greatest achievement in the documentation of the *Sīrah* to date, notwithstanding the difficulties which normally attend any pioneering efforts. I am very hopeful that we shall be able to develop this project further, so that the *Sīrah* in all its aspects will be completely re-written with full documentation of the historical reports, while giving full recognition to the Islamic concepts of motives and characteristic features.

Allah encompasses all intentions, and He is the guide to the straight path.

Dr. Akram al 'Umari



## **Prologue on Methodology for Writing the History of the First Period of Islam**

The need to re-write the history of Islam is one of the issues to which Muslim scholars have been directing their attention since the 1960s. These scholars were of the opinion that any such reformulation should take place in accordance with the Islamic concepts of movement and interpretation of history. It must also be carried out along the lines of the *ḥadīth* scholar's methodology in the study of Islamic history. It is indeed a most difficult undertaking to offer suggestions for the reformulation of the history of Islam which spans fourteen centuries. This is because of the length of the period itself, on the one hand, and because of the diversity of the sources, on the other. This diversity is due to the ways in which the various sources were arranged and the different aspects which they emphasized at any particular time. The difficulty is further compounded by the emergence from an early period, of distortions in the political sphere, followed in later periods by distortions in other spheres, such as the social, economic, and educational. More serious distortions in the basic beliefs and principles and in the *Sharī'ah* have appeared during the twentieth century. All this influences the interpretation of motives for the movement of Islamic history.

For this reason, I limit this work to the reformulation of the first period of Islam. This period consists of the *Sīrah* and the era of the Rightly-guided Caliphs, when the influence of faith was at its most powerful in shaping the motives of the Muslims. Our original sources use the method of transmission of reports, where, in the manner of the *ḥadīth* scholars, these are usually preceded by the names of their narrators. The history of the first period of Islam is of the utmost importance because it is the age when the comprehensive teachings of Islam were truly implemented. The first period of Islam is the prototype and the ideal which we strive to emulate in our contemporary Islamic societies. In this work I also attempt to outline certain features of the Islamic perspective on the interpretation of history. Then I discuss the methodology of historical research in accordance with the principles of *muṣṭalaḥ al ḥadīth*. This will be preceded by an introduction stating the need for Islamic history to be written by Muslim scholars. The history of other nations has ultimately been written by people belonging to those nations, even

though others may have contributed to that end. Thus, we Muslims should bear the responsibility of writing Islamic history by and for ourselves. We must acquaint ourselves with our civilization, ideology and values, according to our understanding of these concepts. Outsiders may make some contribution, but that must remain limited in its scope. It cannot be the mainstay of our concept of history, nor should it constitute the only exposition of our heritage to the world.

What has actually taken place, however, is the exact opposite of what ought to be the case. The backward state of civilization in the Muslim world today is reflected in its inability to appraise and document its own history. The majority of those concerned with historical studies in the Muslim world fall into two distinct categories. The first consists of those who hate their Islamic legacy, believing that it is the cause of the cultural backwardness which is prevalent in Muslim lands. They even hold this legacy responsible for their repeated defeats at the hands of the Zionists in Palestine. This category of Muslim historians firmly believes that it is necessary to forge a wedge between the past and the present; the new generation must cut off and totally isolate itself from Islam and its literary heritage and civilization. The second category is a group of inactive professional writers of historical essays. They write unimaginative works in which they depend heavily upon the translated works of Orientalists, without making any real effort to undertake their own investigations, check the original sources, and put forward their own ideas. They do not care if any poisonous ideas posited by the Orientalists reach the Muslim society through their writings.

This state of affairs—the neglect of Islamic history—has been exacerbated by the weakness of the intellectual movement in the Muslim world and by its inability to keep pace with the trends of world thought. It results from the cultural disparity between the East and West which dates from the days of the European Renaissance. One very rarely finds a serious historical study written by a Muslim scholar during the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. Little wonder, therefore, that most historical studies produced by Muslim writers during this period are mere echoes and reflections of Orientalist studies, and of their views and ideas.

The true believers in Islam, those working to strengthen the ties which bind the new generations of Muslims to their faith and heritage must, therefore, fulfill their great responsibility in this field of historical research. They alone are capable of disseminating the true concepts of Islamic history and of Islamic society. They have tasted the sweetness of true belief, and have experienced its influence on their conduct. They are in a better position to understand the true motives behind the actions of sincere Muslims and the tendencies of truly Islamic societies, and are therefore better qualified to understand the direction and movement of Islamic history.

The Islamic interpretation of history stems from the Islamic concept of the universe, life and man, and is based upon belief in Allah, His books, His Messengers, the hereafter and destiny, with both its good and bad aspects proceeding from Allah. Thus, the Islamic interpretation of history does not lie beyond the circle of Islamic religious tenets. Rather, it is based on the understanding of motives and incentives for human behavior as exemplified in the first Muslim society in Madīnah. The distinctive character of the direction and course of Islamic history distinguishes itself from universal history because of the influence of divine revelation. This is achieved by pointing out that in Islamic history the properties of true *imān* dominate other properties. Nor is the Islamic interpretation of history a materialistic interpretation in which material factors such as the means of production are portrayed as the sole influence on the movement of human history, as in the case with the Marxist ideology. Nor is it a material interpretation which ascribes historical change to external factors such as the influence of the physical environment, climate, geography, economy, etc. This is the Western material interpretation. The Islamic interpretation clearly indicates man's responsibility and role in effecting social and historical change within the framework of the divine will. The Islamic interpretation cannot be racial, emphasizing only the role of a particular race or people. It acknowledges the roles of all Islamic peoples in proportion to their real contribution. Nor can the Islamic interpretation be said to be sectarian, interpreting history to the advantage of any particular sect to the detriment of historical fact.

All these ideas need to be further clarified in greater detail, but there is no scope for this in this book. However, I shall attempt to outline some of these issues and hope to deal with the details in the future.



## *Chapter I*





## General Features of the Islamic Interpretation of History

**Consideration of the facts explicitly stated in the Qur'ān:  
The origin of human belief was *tawhīd*, not *shirk***

*Tawhīd* was the norm from the days of Adam until *shirk* emerged. Allah says in the Qur'ān: "Mankind was one single nation, and Allah sent Messengers with glad tidings and warnings. . ." (*al Baqarah* 2:213). That is, mankind was one nation (*ummah*) whose religion was that of pure *tawhīd*. When mankind abandoned *tawhīd* and turned away from it, Allah sent the Prophets to bring them back to it. This event is affirmed in the Qur'ān. But when we turn to the books of ancient history, we find the Muslim historians stating that which contradicts the Qur'ān. They state that the original religion of mankind involved the worship of animals, trees and natural forces, and then, as a result of intellectual evolution, man arrived at *tawhīd*. These scholars consider the Pharaoh Akhenaton to be the earliest monotheist, because he advocated the worship of the sun to the exclusion of all other Egyptian deities. This fallacy is due to two reasons:

1. The first reason is that certain Muslim historians reject the authenticity of divine revelation (*al wahy*) and Prophethood, believing that religious belief evolved from the worship of many gods to the worship of the one true God as a result of human endeavor, manifesting itself through the intellectual and cultural evolution of mankind.
2. The second reason is that the Muslim historians have been influenced by Darwin, and have applied his theory of evolution and the origin of species to the field of religious belief.

A Muslim historian is required to assimilate the basic Qur'ānic concepts of human history, and then to observe them strictly when he is writing about history. If he encounters any theories which contradict these Qur'ānic principles, then it is his duty to challenge those theories, so long as they are merely theories and not established facts.

However, most inferences about ancient history are based upon the results of archaeological excavations. Such efforts yield limited information which is not sufficient to bridge the huge gaps which exist in our knowledge of ancient history. Whereas the non-Muslim historian has nothing at his

disposal except the material results of these excavations with which to derive information, the Muslim historian is able to rely upon the Qur'ān, where "no falsehood can approach it from before or behind it" (*Fuṣṣilat* 41:42). The Qur'ān is the only divine book which has not been altered or tampered with. It is a great blessing which Allah has bestowed upon the Muslims for preserving His book. Muslims in every age recite it just as it was revealed, assured in their hearts that it is "the speech of Allah." This certainty has the most profound effect upon their souls, minds, conduct and character. It has also deeply influenced the nature of their society and civilization. This blessing has never been bestowed upon any nation other than the Muslim *Ummah*.

### **The interpretation of the behavioral motives among Muslims in the early period of Islam**

In an Islamic society in which the basic beliefs and principles are both deeply-rooted and dominant, behavioral motives are greatly influenced by the aspiration to please Allah and gain His reward in the hereafter. The best Muslim believers do not include any other motive for their actions. It is essential for the Muslim to ensure that his intention in all his deeds is aimed solely at pleasing Allah, be they acts of *jihād*, self-purification, or any social, economic, or political activities. The activities of a Muslim in all spheres of life must be directed towards pleasing God. The Muslim knows well that if he were to include anything else in his intention besides God, then his deed would be unacceptable, as stated in the *ḥadīth*: "Allah does not accept any deed except that which is purely intended for Him and is done for His sake." If this way of thinking is guiding many conscientious Muslims even today, then what was its influence on the generations of the companions of the Prophet and those who followed after them (*tābi'ūn*), who were the best of all generations?

The knowledge of the effect which Islam exerted on the education of its followers in the first period of Islam—and on the purification of their souls, the polishing of their minds, the sincerity of their religious belief, together with their directing their worship to God alone—makes it abundantly clear that their participation in the military campaigns known as *al futūḥ* (the conquests or 'opening up' of other lands) was not primarily motivated by any worldly ambition. Rather, it was the compelling desire to propagate Islam, to enable it to take firm root in these lands and to organize and administer the newly-conquered territories. It was the wish to solve the economic problems of these lands, and any new problems which might arise, in accordance with the true teachings of Islam. The Muslims were not motivated by any desire to dominate those peoples or to acquire their wealth, nor were they attempting to escape from the hardship of life in the desert, as has been maintained by Caetani and other Orientalists.

Al Ṭabarī narrated that Rabīʾ ibn ʿĀmir entered the court of Rustum, the Persian leader, who asked him: "What brought you here?" Rabīʾ said: "God sent us, and He brought us here in order to lead whom He wills from the worship of man to the worship of God alone; from the narrowness and oppression of this world to the space and abundance of the hereafter; and from the injustice of other religions to the justice of Islam. He has sent us with His religion of His creation, to call them to Him."

What Rabīʾ ibn ʿĀmir, the representative of the Muslims, said to the Persians was not only the expression of his personal feelings. Rather, it voiced the thought which was predominant among the Muslim leadership and most of the *Mujāhidīn*. This does not exclude the possibility that some of the Bedouin who had participated in the military expeditions had been attracted by the prospects of material gains and booty, in addition to the desire for *jihād*; but these Bedouin did not represent either the leadership of the movement or its motivating spirit. We must state this because the Muslim society is a human society. In it are found the elite who are committed to the highest moral and spiritual ideals, with their intentions directed purely towards God, who are desirous of earning His good pleasure and who direct their efforts towards achieving this end. But there are also lesser classes of Muslims who take it upon themselves to maintain the minimum standards which will entitle them to call themselves Muslims.

We must explain clearly that the interpretation of the course of Islamic history during the first period of Islam can only be undertaken by a Muslim who repeats daily what God said to his Prophet: "Say: 'Truly my prayer and service of my sacrifice, my life and my death, are (all) for God, the cherisher of the worlds: No partner hath He; this am I commanded . . .'" (*al Anʿām* 6:162-163). This is the Muslim whose mind and emotions have been affected by the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah*, who has felt their impact in molding his personality and determining his actions and conduct. This is why Westerners and Orientalists have failed to understand the true motives for the actions of Muslims during the first period of Islam. For example, when Henri Lammens, a well-known Orientalist, discussed the incident of the *Saqīfah* of Banū Sāʿidah (an early example of the application of the *Shūrā*, in which the majority was persuaded by the minority) his judgment of this incident was impaired by his recollections of the conspiracies at the French court of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which distorted his eventual depiction of the incident. He concluded that the outcome of the meeting of *Saqīfah* came about as the result of a conspiracy woven by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, who, in the *Saqīfah* of the Banū Sāʿidah, had agreed to seize the caliphate and succeed one another.

The studies of the Orientalists are numerous, and differ in their levels, quality, and freedom from religious and racial prejudice. However, these studies are usually carried out by scholars who live in environments which are remote

from Islam, and which have their own philosophies and cultures. It is difficult for them to appreciate Islam and consequently, it is difficult for them to understand the true reasons for a Muslim's conduct, both individually and socially. When they seek to interpret the history of Islam, they draw analogies with European history, despite the very different natures of the two histories. We must not forget, moreover, that the Europeans cannot but help looking at the world from their own perspective, which is militarily and technologically superior. Thus they tend to ascribe every possible merit to themselves, while ascribing defects to others. When Toynbee wrote his history of world civilization, he allotted only a small space to the history of Islam, a space which was not commensurate with the size of Islam's real contribution to world history.

The most glaring deficiency of the Orientalists' studies is their failure to arrive at a correct understanding of Islam, its true spirit, and its effect on an Islamic society and on the course of that society's history. This is a grave deficiency which prevents our acceptance and approval of these studies, especially those which are concerned with the *Strah* and the era of the Rightly-guided Caliphs, when the practical implementation of Islamic theory coincided with the theory itself and faithfully reflected it.

### Appraising a civilization

The Muslim historian does not judge any civilization on the basis of its material achievement only; he also takes into consideration the extent to which it has realized the basic objective ordained by God, the Creator, for His creatures. Allah said: "I have only created *Jinns* and men, that they may serve Me" (*al Dhāriyāt* 51:56).

Thus a noble civilization is one which creates a suitable environment—political, social, economic, cultural, and material—that will enable man to direct himself toward the worship of God alone and to adhere strictly to His commandments in all his activities, unimpeded by the institutions of the society. These institutions should not be permitted to cause any contradiction between religious belief and conduct, nor should they put pressure on anyone to deviate from his obligations toward Allah, Lord of the worlds. No matter how advanced a civilization may be in its sciences, literature, and arts; no matter how colorful its achievements in architecture, furniture, clothing, and cuisine; no matter how far a civilization has advanced in material progress; in the opinion of the Muslim historian, it still remains "backward" and "deficient" so long as it falls short of creating an environment appropriate to the worship of God and the observance of His commandments as embodied in the *Sharī'ah*.

Islamic civilization itself has passed through several stages, and undoubtedly most of its material achievements were not realized during its early period. Major achievements came in the third and fourth centuries AH. For this reason,

we find the Western historian Adam Mitez voicing the opinion that the fourth century of the *hijrah* represents the peak of Islamic civilization, because this period was the most appropriate for the worship of God alone. When compared with the behavior of the Muslims in the fourth century of the *hijrah*, the behavior of the Muslims in the first century was clearly more in accordance with the teachings of the *Sharī'ah*. The Prophet alluded to this when he said: "The best of generations is my generation, then those that come after them, then those that come after them."

This logic seems strange indeed to the minds of non-Muslim historians, because they have accepted the criteria and values of Western civilization. But for the Muslim historian who has managed to break free of the domination of Western values, criteria and concepts, the whole matter appears self-evident. The Muslim has been able to achieve this new vision due to the new wave of Islamic awareness, the effects of which are now quite visible throughout the contemporary Islamic world. One of these effects has been the breaking away of the young Muslim generation from the clutches of Western civilization. Islam and *imān* have inspired them with feelings of superiority, self-confidence, and independence, both spiritual and intellectual. This is significant because it represents the first correct step in the direction of establishing a new civilization, God willing.

### **"Apology and justification" cannot serve as a basis for the interpretation of early Islamic history**

This logic is a result of the psychological and intellectual oppression created in our minds by the cultural invasion of the West. One aspect of the logic is the apologetic approach which some Muslim historians use when they discuss the issue of *jihād* in Islam, or the Islamic conquests (*al futūḥ al islāmiyyah*). They view these military expeditions as having been launched in defense of the Arabian Peninsula against the incursions of the Romans and Persians. Even the military expeditions of the Prophet himself have not escaped this apologetic approach, which portrays them as being waged in defense of the state of Madīnah. Professor Muḥammad Shalabī al Nu'mānī's study of the *Sīrah*, despite his excellence, has also committed this error.

Some Muslim historians have even gone so far as to reject some well-known and well-documented incidents because they were unable to produce the apologetic justification they needed. For example, one such writer denies Ibn Ishāq's reports concerning the slaughter of the warriors of Qurayzah, although these reports are confirmed in the books of *ḥadīth*, *Sīrah* and history. It is as if he doubts the fairness of killing them. The Islamic interpretation of history

is not apologetic, nor is it a defensive justification. It is based on the conviction that Islam is the truth, and whatever contradicts it is falsehood. Whatever God has legislated in Islam, be it *jihād* or anything else, is right and has no need of apology or justification, however strange or unacceptable it may appear to the dominant Western mentality of the twentieth century. We should not modify Islam and its history to suit the tastes and ideologies of people in any particular age. What people commend at one particular time may be distasteful at another, and what is considered good by people in one place may be regarded as bad by the people of another place. Only God can truly judge or evaluate anything and this is reflected in His law, the *Sharī'ah*. True judgment cannot come from the whims, desires and subjective personal opinions of mere mortals. God is victorious over what he ordains.

### The use of *Sharī'ah* terminology in writing history

The use of legal (*Sharī'*) terminology is necessary when writing the history of Islam from the Islamic perspective. Legal terms have clear and specific meanings, and function as criteria of Islamic legal concepts which are of significant value in judging people and events. For example, the Qur'ān divides people into three categories: *mu'min* (believer), *kāfir* (disbeliever) and *munāfiq* (hypocrite). Each of these three words has a precise meaning, which cannot be tampered with. We should not refrain from using these terms, and we should not adopt the alternative terminology which has developed in non-Muslim circles, such as "leftist," "rightist" or any other such non-Islamic terms which contradict the *Sharī'ah* and which are vague and ambiguous. It is also important to use Islamic terminology when cultural and civilizational achievements are being judged. Islamic juristic terms such as *al khayr*, *al sharr*, *al ḥaqq*, *al bāṭil*, *al adl*, *al ḡlūm*, must be used in the place of Western terminology such as "progressive," "reactionary," etc.

Some Muslim writers have fallen into the trap of using terminology that cannot be found in an "Islamic dictionary". Herein lies the danger that Islam may dissolve into *Jāhili* thought and be lost in its terminology, which would rob us of our independent identity.

The use of Islamic juristic terminology in the rewriting of Islamic history is utterly vital for the preservation of the independent character of the Islamic methodology and the promotion of its identity. Furthermore, Islamic juristic terminology is much more precise than Western terminology.

We may ask: What is meant by conducting research in Islamic history in accordance with the methodology of the *ḥadīth* scholars?

The *ḥadīth* scholars have certain methods of criticizing *ḥadīth* and placing them into categories such as *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍa'īf*. How may we use these methods in criticizing historical reports which deal with the first period of Islam? These

reports resemble the *ḥadīth* in that they are preceded by an *isnād* (chain of narrators) which is affixed to their *matn* (text). Thus, the critic may know the names of the men who narrated the incident, and in which order they narrated it. Information about these narrators may be found in the books of *ʿilm al rijāl* (literally, 'the science of men'), which specializes in giving details about these men, such as their circumstances and status as regards reliability. For example, the condition for accepting a *ḥadīth* as *ṣaḥīḥ* is that it should be narrated by an *al 'adl al ḍābiṭ* (a trustworthy Muslim known to have an excellent memory), who must in turn narrate it from *al 'adl al ḍābiṭ*, and so on along the chain of narrators. There must not be any defect or oddity in the chain. Likewise, the condition for a historical report to be *ṣaḥīḥ* is that all its narrators—up to and including the eye-witness—must be men of correct piety (with an excellent memory which is not susceptible to error) who either know the report by heart or have recorded it precisely in their books. In addition to this, the narrative must agree with similar narratives by other narrators, who are also known to excel in the skills of documentation. If, however, it disagrees with these narrators, it will be regarded as "odd," and will be outweighed by better versions. The historical narrative must not suffer from any hidden defects, such as subtle lying, *irsāl* (a link missing from the chain of narrators) or an inconsistency in its *matn*. If an historical report does not qualify as *ṣaḥīḥ* according to these methods of the *ḥadīth* scholars, then the *isnāds* must be examined. All the versions dealing with any particular incident must be collected and checked to find out whether they agree or disagree. If any one version is narrated via a number of *isnāds*, then this would tend to strengthen the possibility of its authenticity, especially if it is deemed impossible that so many narrators would conspire in lying or would do so by chance.

The methods of the *ḥadīth* scholars must be observed when dealing with historical narratives. The *ḥadīth* scholars themselves are lenient when they narrate historical reports. We may notice this even in the most trustworthy of early Muslim historians, such as Ibn Ishāq, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt and al Ṭabarī. They all give many historical reports which are either *mursal* or *munqatīʿ*. Al Ṭabarī also often reports historical reports on the authority of very weak and untrustworthy narrators, such as Hishām ibn Kalbī, Sayf ibn 'Umar al Tamīmī, Naṣr ibn Mazāḥim, and others.

Undoubtedly, the fact that the earlier historians accepted historical reports without subjecting them to the same rigorous criticism of the *ḥadīth* places a heavy responsibility upon the contemporary Muslim historian. The earlier historians were content to put their trust in the narrators mentioned in the *isnāds*. This means that the contemporary Muslim historian must make a tremendous effort to determine which historical reports are *ṣaḥīḥ*. He needs to understand the methods of the *ḥadīth* scholars and to apply them to the historical reports in the same way as they were applied to the *ḥadīth*. This



is no longer such an easy task as it was for Khalīfah ibn al Khayyāt or al Ṭabarī, because they were well-versed in the methodology of the *ḥadīth* scholars in criticizing historical reports.

We do not wish to detract from the credit that is due to the early historians, nor from the contribution they have made. They collected for us the primary material, along with the *isnāds*, which enable us to judge it, however difficult this may be. What should be the next step after separating the *ṣaḥīḥ* reports from the defective ones?

We should accept the *ṣaḥīḥ* reports, then the *ḥasan* ones, and then those *daʿīf* reports which are supported by other independent *isnāds*, and hence are known as *al muʿaḍḍadah* (the supported one). In this way, a picture of the events of early Islamic history can be reconstructed. If any contradiction arises, then the strongest *ḥadīth* must always be followed, but weak *ḥadīth* which are not supported or otherwise strengthened may be used to fill any gaps not covered by either *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḥasan ḥadīth*. However, this may only be done when the issue concerned is not related to either *ʿaqīdah* or *Sharīʿah*. The general rule is that one must be stringent in matters relating to basic beliefs and principles or *Sharīʿah*. We cannot fail to notice that the age of the *Sīrah* and the Rightly-guided Caliphs is full of legal precedents. The Rightly-guided Caliphs used to exert themselves in order to direct life in accordance with the teachings of Islam. They are examples to be followed in the decisions they made concerning issues that emerged after the expansion of the Islamic State in the wake of their military victories and conquests.

The writer is permitted to be lenient when dealing with reports which describe the construction of cities, monuments, irrigation canals, or which deal with battles and reports of the courage and sacrifices of the *Mujāhidūn*.

Since we have accepted this principle of applying *ḥadīth* methodology, we may now make extensive use of the *ḥadīth* books in studying the *Sīrah* and the era of the Rightly-guided Caliphs. We may do so because the books of *ḥadīth* have been more closely examined by the critics than the books of *Sīrah* or of general history. For example, the books of al Bukhārī and Muslim have been defined as being authentic, and every *ḥadīth* contained therein is regarded as being *ṣaḥīḥ*. After many studies of these two books, both by ancient scholars with excellent memories and by modern scholars, even small details in the two books have firmly resisted criticism because their origins are well-known, and are not confined only to al Bukhārī and Muslim. If this is the case, we may therefore accept as authentic whatever al Bukhārī and Muslim have reported concerning the *Sīrah* and the era of the Rightly-guided Caliphs. We may then consider the other four books of *ḥadīth*, and the *Muwatṭāʾ* of Imām Mālik, which have also received a great deal of attention, even though these books do not attain the same level of authenticity as the two *ṣaḥīḥs* (i.e., al Bukhārī and Muslim), and are not totally free from *daʿīf ḥadīth*.

The *ḥadīth* books contain a great deal of information about the *Sīrah*, although they do not cover all of its events. Thus the importance of *ḥadīth* methods of criticism and of applying them to the reports of *Sīrah* and general history becomes apparent. When some of the major *ḥadīth* scholars, such as al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Sayyid al Nās in *Uyūn al Athar fī al Maghāzī wa al Shamā'il wa al Siyar*, and al Ḥafīẓ al Dhahabī in *Tārīkh al Islām*, wrote about the *Sīrah*, they relied largely upon the Six Books, namely al Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al Tirmidhī, al Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah. However, they also referred to the books of *Sīrah* and general Islamic history.

At this point, it is essential to state an important fact which, if ignored, could lead to misgivings about our concept of the *Sīrah* and our knowledge of the early caliphate. Actually, the *ḥadīth* books confirm what is reported in the books of *Sīrah* and general history. This is especially true in the case of two *Sīrah* books, namely the books of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yassār (d. 151 A.H.) and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah (d. 26 A.H.). The former book has reached us under the titles of *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*; the latter, which is a counterpart of Ibn Hishām, is contained within the *Maghāzī* of al Wāqidī, who was charged by the *ḥadīth* scholars with fabricating reports, and whose authority was, therefore, considerably weakened, despite the fact that the *ḥadīth* scholars acknowledged the richness of his knowledge of the *Sīrah*. In truth, a careful study of al Wāqidī will reveal that what the *ḥadīth* scholars say about him is true: many of the narrators upon whom al Wāqidī relied are not to be found in the books of *ʿIlm al Rijāl*.

There is a mistaken tendency among some Orientalists (in which some Muslim historians have acquiesced) to upgrade al Wāqidī's *Maghāzī*, and to prefer it even to the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq. The *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq is actually more precise and more authentic than al Wāqidī's work. The information given by Ibn Ishāq agrees in many aspects with that found in the books of *ḥadīth*. The main difference between the books of *ḥadīth* and the books of *Sīrah* is that the *Sīrah* books include many reports in which the *isnād* is either *mursal* or *munqaṭi'*; but these same reports are often found in *ḥadīth* books with complete *isnāds*, a fact which tends to confirm the information found in *Sīrah* books.

However, we shall certainly need to make some amendments and omissions from the *Sīrah*, as a result of checking the *Sīrah* books against the *ḥadīth* books and of applying the rules of *ḥadīth* criticism to the historical reports. In the following chapters, we shall discuss some results obtained by applying the *ḥadīth* methodology; results which have become apparent to me during my study of this topic:

### 1. Certainty about the Authenticity of our knowledge of the *Sīrah*.

This is indeed an aspect of the mercy of God toward His servants, in that He has preserved for them the *Sīrah* of His Prophet so that they may take him as an example and emulate him.

## 2. The addition of new information.

These new additions, which are given by the books of *ḥadīth*, are important because the *Sīrah* and history books were limited to dealing with the *Maghāzī*, and did not give many details of the social, economic, and administrative aspects of the *Sīrah*.

## 3. The clarification of certain topics.

The historians and *ḥadīth* scholars disagree, for example, about the campaign against Banū al Muṣṭaliq. Al Bukhārī mentions, in his *ṣaḥīḥ*, that the Prophet took them completely by surprise when he attacked them. The books of *Sīrah*, however, state that he had given them a warning, that they had prepared themselves for fighting, and that the fighting had actually taken place around the well of al Muraysī.

In such a situation we need to know the correct Islamic position on the issue of warning the enemy. We find three distinct opinions among the jurists:

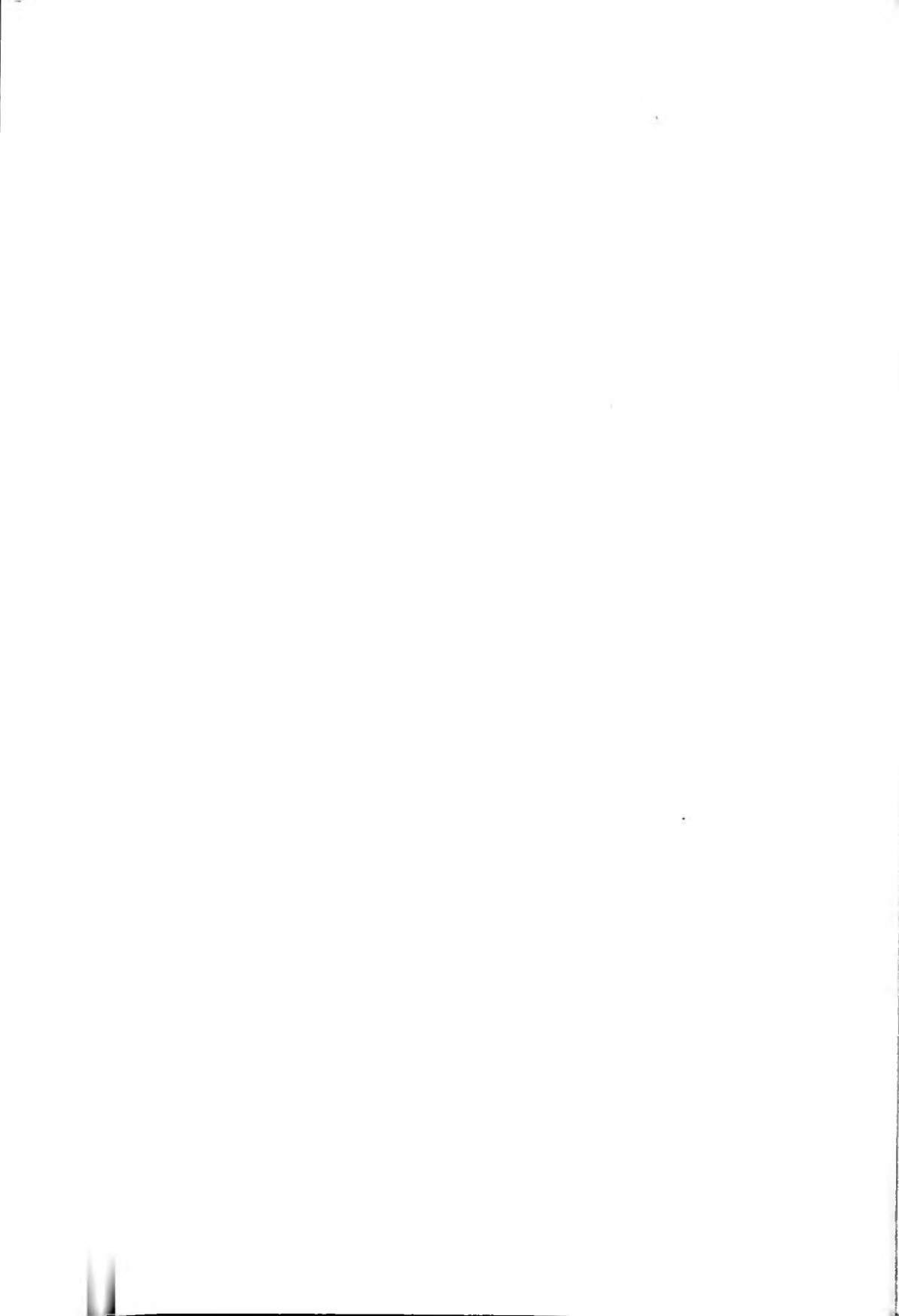
- (a) That it is not at all obligatory to warn the enemy of an imminent attack. This is the opinion favored by al Māziri and al Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ.
- (b) That it is obligatory under all circumstances to warn the enemy. This is the opinion favored by Imām Mālik and others.
- (c) That it is obligatory to warn those to whom the message of Islam had not been sent, but it is not obligatory to warn those whom the message of Islam has reached (and who have rejected it). This is the opinion favored by the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām al Shāfi'i, Aḥmad and their followers, and is the strongest of the three.

Insofar as Banū al Muṣṭaliq were among those who had received the call of Islam, the version of Imām al Bukhārī, that the Prophet had attacked them and taken them by surprise, is in complete agreement with the opinion, which is the most reliable. There is no need to prefer the version of Ibn Ishāq and other *Sīrah* writers, arguing that it is the more favorable, for that of al Bukhārī's version, which contradicts the Qur'ānic verse: "If you fear treachery from any group, throw back (their covenant) to them, so as to be on equal terms. . ." (*al Anfāl* 8:58).

## 4. Some amendments are necessary in certain topics of the *Sīrah*.

These may have been somewhat misunderstood in contemporary studies based only on the *Sīrah* and history books. Examples of these are "the system of brotherhood," and "the document which the Prophet wrote as a constitution for Madīnah at the beginning of the *hijrah*." However, we should not exaggerate the amount of amendment which will affect the shape of the *Sīrah*

as presented by the early writers and as it has been known among Muslims for 1,400 years. Indeed, a comparative study will reveal a concurrence between the books of *ḥadīth* and *Sīrah* in a vast number of details. This is a sign that God has preserved the *Sīrah* of His Prophet so that it will remain a light to guide Muslims in every time and place. God caused some of the outstanding *ḥadīth* scholars among the *tābiʿūn* and their students to record the *Sīrah* at an early date, drawing upon the resources of the companions who had witnessed and participated in those events. Thus there is no gap between the events of the *Sīrah* and the recording of those events. If such a gap had existed, it would have led to the loss of texts, or distortions of, and additions to those texts. Moreover, if we examine the names of the *Sīrah* authors, we shall find that most of them were also *ḥadīth* scholars. They are not merely literary figures or story-tellers. This is significant because they were known to be deeply concerned with documentation and had developed clear and critical methodologies. Their style was sober and completely free from exaggeration, pedantry, repetition and imaginative accounts.



## **Chapter II**



## **The Necessity of Flexibility in Applying the Principles of the *Ḥadīth* Scholars**

Undoubtedly it would be untenable to insist upon the conditions of *ḥadīth* authenticity before accepting any historical narrative. Narratives which would satisfy these stringent conditions would fail to cover all the events and developments of the various stages of Islamic history and inevitably lead to huge gaps in our historical accounts. If we contrast this with the histories of other nations, we shall find that they are full of such gaps, despite the fact that these histories often depend on single and/or anonymous narratives. Therefore, in the eras following the earliest period of Islam, it is sufficient to ensure the trustworthiness of the historian, and the accuracy of his memory in order to accept what he records as authentic. The principles of *ḥadīth* criticism must be used in the case of inconsistency between the accounts of different historians.

It is necessary to insist that an historian should fulfill the conditions of being trustworthy, honest, and pious if his testimony about other nations and his appraisal of their role is to be accepted and upheld. All stages of Islamic history must be appraised from an Islamic perspective. It has recently become apparent that our understanding of any particular period may undergo a significant change when that period is re-appraised, as was the case with the Ottoman State where records were reopened and re-evaluated by 400 Muslim historians. It appears that the changes which will come about in our conception of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods and of all subsequent periods until the present day, will be very great indeed. It will reveal the horrific distortion which has been wrought in our history.

I call upon Muslim historians to produce detailed studies aimed at revealing the salient features of the Islamic interpretation of history, and the real dimensions of the critical methodology with which the narratives of Islamic history must be examined. I warn our youth, in their efforts to understand the events and great men of Islamic history, not to rely totally on reports mentioned in some history books, and not to accept them without subjecting them to the most rigorous criticism. Otherwise, they will run the risk of accepting



a distorted picture of Islamic history because the narrators upon whom al Ṭabarī and others relied were influenced by personal whims and prejudices, and by political and sectarian inclinations. The narrators' accounts of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods were greatly influenced by their personal views and biases. Therefore, a serious attempt to rewrite the history of Islam must be undertaken by Muslim writers who believe in God and His Messengers, and who know about and appreciate the influence which Islam has had on our history, and which it will continue to have on our future.

### The study of the source books of the *Sīrah*

There are various sources for the study of the *Sīrah*; some may be described as primary sources, and include the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, the books of *al Shamā'il* and *al Dalā'il*, the books specializing in the *Sīrah*, and the books of general history. The other sources may be described as secondary and complementary. These are books which do not deal specifically with the *Sīrah* or history as such, but with other subjects which are useful in the study of *Sīrah*. Examples of the latter include books on literature, poetry, biography, *ilm al rijāl*, geography, *fiqh*, genealogy and dictionaries, etc. Undoubtedly, if all these sources were incorporated in the study of the *Sīrah*, they would produce the most complete and most detailed picture possible.

I shall try to give a clear picture of these source books, their value and how they may be utilized. The first fact that the researcher must note is that they are not all on the same level. They vary in strength and authenticity, and cannot be treated equally. One cannot compare a Qur'ānic verse or a *ḥadīth* with a historical or literary narrative.<sup>1</sup> These sources must be evaluated, and each one placed in the appropriate category.

At the top of the list of *Sīrah* source books is the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān is God's truth as revealed to his Prophet Muḥammad in both words and meaning through revelation (*wahy*). It consists of statements explaining the Islamic *ʿaqidah* and the *Shari'ah*. It also includes verses of *al Ahkām* (directives), which are of immense importance in analyzing Islamic society and its development.<sup>2</sup> These verses of *Ahkām* shed light on the legislation dealing with social, economic and political matters, in accordance with which the Prophet ruled the first Islamic state.

<sup>1</sup>One of those who committed this error is Abū Rayḥān in his book *Aḍwā' alā al Sunnah al Muḥammadiyah*.

<sup>2</sup>An analysis of Qur'ānic verses on *Sīrah* is given in Muḥammad Darwāzah's book *Sīrat al Rasūl*.

In the Qur'ān, we find references to some of the events of the *Sīrah* period, for example, Badr, Uhūd, al Khandaq and Ḥunayn<sup>3</sup>, where the circumstances in which these important battles were fought are described, especially their psychological dimensions, which cannot be found in such vivid and precise detail in other sources.

The Qur'ān also gives an exact description of the material as well as the intellectual conflict between the Muslims and the Jews in the Hijaz.<sup>4</sup> The references in the Qur'ān to past nations widened the historical perspective of the Muslims. Their historical studies covered the histories of past prophets and past nations. The Muslims' concern with events beyond the Arabian Peninsula, for example, the war between the Romans and the Persians, led them to record the histories of the Romans, Persians, Turks, Abyssinians, and others.<sup>5</sup>

We should not, however, expect to find details of historical events in the Qur'ān, since it is not primarily a history textbook, but rather a constitution for life. Moreover, it is difficult to know the contexts and times of many verses, either because no information is given in the reports, or because these reports themselves—if indeed they are available—are often contradictory.<sup>6</sup> The authentic reports must first be sorted from the questionable reports, then if any contradiction still exists, the matter must be resolved and verified.

Moreover, it must be noted that we cannot benefit from the Qur'ān as we should unless we refer to the authentic books of *Tafsīr*, especially those known as *al Tafsīr bi al Ma'ihūr* (*Tafsīr* through the use of reports), for example, the *Tafsīrs* of al Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr. Reference must also be made to the books of *al Nāsikh wa al Mansūkh* and *Asbāb al Nuzūl*, and other books which deal with '*Ulūm al Qur'ān*.

Some contemporary historians are too proud to refer to these books, and prefer to rely upon their own understanding of the linguistic styles and meaning of Arabic. This leads them to make serious mistakes. For example, their understanding of the verse: "It is He who has sent amongst the unlettered (*al ummiyyīn*) an apostle from among themselves. . ." (*al Jumu'ah* 62:2). The Orientalists were of the opinion that *al Ummiyyīn* here implies ignorance of the religion (*Dīn*), not merely incompetence in reading and writing. However, the Qur'ān often refers to Muḥammad as *al nabī al ummī* (the unlettered Prophet) (*al Arāf* 7:157). It is quite unreasonable to suppose that a Prophet is ignorant of the religion he has been sent to teach.

<sup>3</sup>Details of Badr are given in *Sūrat al Anfāl* (8); of Uhūd in *Sūrat Āl 'Imrān* (3); of al Khandaq in *Sūrat al Aḥzāb* (33); and of Ḥunayn in *Sūrat al Tawbah* (9). Other *Sūrahs* also refer to those events.

<sup>4</sup>The issue of intellectual conflict is referred to in *Sūrat al Baqarah* (2); that of material conflict in *Sūrat al Ḥaṣhr* and *Sūrat al Aḥzāb*.

<sup>5</sup>Al Dūrī, *Nasha'at 'Ilm al Tārīkh 'ind al Arab*, pp. 18, 51. Ṣāliḥ al 'Alī, *Muḥāḍarāt fī Tārīkh al 'Arab qabl al Islām*.

<sup>6</sup>Al 'Alī, Ṣāliḥ, *Muḥāḍarāt fī Fārīkh al 'Arab qabl al Islām*.

A proper intellectual inclination should force the researcher to refer to the books of *Tafsīr*, which are well documented. The Qur'ānic words must be given their true meaning. Academic integrity requires the scholar to refer to the authentic books of *Tafsīr* and to give the Qur'ānic texts their truly intended meaning, but not to interpret them according to personal whims in an attempt to support any opinion or *madhhab*. The Prophet warned in his saying: "Whoever alleges in the Qur'ān his opinion or anything which he does not know, will occupy a place in Hell-fire."<sup>7</sup>

Concerning the importance of the *ḥadīth* in the study of the *Sīrah*, the *ḥadīth* expound Islamic beliefs and behavior. The *ḥadīth* of *al aḥkām* explain matters of worship and legislation, such as *ṣawm*, *ṣalāh*, *ḥajj*, *zakāh*, and political, financial and administrative systems. A complete picture of Islam cannot be formed without a knowledge of *ḥadīth*, and all these matters which the *ḥadīth* dealt with have some connection with the administrative, economic, social and cultural life at the time of the Prophet and the period which followed it, because, to a great extent, the Muslims adhered to the application of the *Sunnah* in their lives. Likewise, some of the books of *ḥadīth* have sections dealing with the *maghāzī* and biographies, such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*.<sup>8</sup>

There is no doubt that the *sīrah* material in the books of *ḥadīth* is authentic, and must be relied upon and given priority over the reports in the *Maghāzī* books and general histories, especially if it is mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* books of *ḥadīth*, because these books are the result of huge efforts on the part of the *ḥadīth* scholars in thoroughly examining the *ḥadīth* and criticizing its *isnād* and *matn*. The precision and criticism which were applied to the *ḥadīth* were not applied to the historical books, but it should be understood that the books of *ḥadīth*, because of their general nature, do not give details of the *maghāzī* and the events of the *Sīrah*; instead, they are confined to some of them, i.e. those which fulfill the conditions laid down by the author to determine the status of the *ḥadīth* and whatever was reported to him. Therefore, they do not give a complete picture of what happened. It is necessary to complete the picture from the specialized books of *Sīrah* if the scholar does not wish to be led into great confusion.<sup>9</sup>

The books of *ḥadīth* are arranged either according to the companion who narrated them, such as the books of *Masānīd* of which one of the greatest

<sup>7</sup>Introduction to the *Tafsīr* of Ibn Kathīr.

<sup>8</sup>See: *Kitāb al Maghāzī* (The Chapter of *al Maghāzī*) in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*.

<sup>9</sup>It is reported in Bukhārī that the Prophet attacked Banū Muṣṭalaq without any warning. This contradicts his usual conduct according to the verse. The books of *sīrah* make it clear that he did warn Banū Muṣṭalaq. So if we confine ourselves to the reports in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* without understanding the Islamic laws regarding warning the enemy, we will be mistaken and confused. See Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Fiqh al Sīrah* (The Understanding of the *Sīrah*), 4th ed., pp. 10, 308.

is the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, or according to subject-matter, such as the Six Books, in both cases without regard to chronological order. For this reason, the researcher has difficulty in dating the *ḥadīth*. However, the books of *Sīrah* and history, which are classified chronologically, rectify this omission in many cases. The oldest comprehensive books of *ḥadīth* which have reached us are the *Muwattā'* of Mālik, the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Bukhārī and Muslim, the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, al Tirmidhī, al Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah, and the *Musnads* of al Dāramī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>10</sup>

The books of *al Dalā'il* and *al Shamā'il* (Evidence of Prophethood<sup>11</sup> and Character of the Prophet) deal with the miracles and signs which prove the veracity of the Prophet.

Despite the fact that the *ḥadīth* books include chapters dealing with the characteristics, signs and evidence of the prophethood and the character of the Messenger, the earliest scholars who dealt specifically with these subjects were:

— Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al Faryābī (d. 212 AH), a *ḥadīth* scholar whose book is reliable: *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah* (The Signs of Prophethood).

— 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al Madā'inī (d. 215 AH) in his book, *Āyāt al Nabī* (Signs of the Prophet).<sup>12</sup>

— Dāwūd ibn 'Alī al Isbahānī (d. 270 AH) in his book, *A'lām al Nubuwwah* (Signs of Prophethood).

— Ibn Qutaybah (d. 273 AH) in his work, *A'lām Rasūl Allah* (Signs of the Messenger of Allah).

— Ibn Abū Ḥātim (d. 327 AH) in his book, *A'lām al Nubuwwah* (Signs of Prophethood).

— Abū Bakr ibn Abū al Dunyā (d. 281 AH).

— Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Mundah (d. 395 AH).

— Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al Isbahānī (d. 415 AH) in his book, *Tathbūt Dalā'il al Nubuwwah* (Confirmation of the Signs of Prophethood), which has been printed.

— Abū 'Abbās Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al Mustaghfirī (d. 432 AH).

— Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al Ḥusayn al Bayhaqī (d. 458 AH) whose book *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah wa Ma'rifaat Aḥwāl Ṣāḥib al Sharī'ah* has been printed. It combines *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan ḥadīth* with other *ḍa'īf* and *mawḍū'* ones. Al Dhahabī commended this book.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup>*Miftāḥ Kunūz al Sunnah* (Key to the Treasures of the Sunnah) gives an idea of the number of important *ḥadīth* connected with *Sīrah* topics. *Al Mu'jam al Mufahras fī Alfāz al Ḥadīth* (Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane) by Wensinck and a group of Orientalists is also helpful for finding *ḥadīth* dealing with *Sīrah*.

<sup>11</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, vol. 2, p. 26, Bulāq edition. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and others.

<sup>12</sup>al Nadīm, *al Fihrist*, p. 113.

<sup>13</sup>*Siyar A'lām al Nubalā'* (The Biographies of the Most Noble), 6/116.

- Abū al Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al Māwardī (d. 450 AH). This book has been printed.
- Abū al Qāsim Ismā‘īl al Isfahānī (d. 535 AH).
- ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī ibn al Mulaqqīn (d. 804 AH) in his book *Khaṣā’iṣ Afḍal al Makhluqīn* (Characteristics of the Best of Creation).
- Jalāl al Dīn al Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH) in his book, *al Khaṣā’iṣ al Kubrā* (The Greatest Characteristics). It has been printed, and it includes *Sīrah*, *Dalā’il* and *Shamā’il*.

The books of characteristics (*khaṣā’iṣ*) are many, and I have limited myself to mentioning only some of them. This list does not include all the works which have been written on this subject. There are other works.

The books of *Shamā’il* deal with *akhlāq* (morals), *ādāb* (manners), and descriptions of the Prophet. The earliest scholars who dealt specifically with this are:

- Dāwūd ibn ‘Alī al Isbahānī (d. 270 AH) in his book, *Ṣifāt Akhlāq al Nabī* (Description of the Characteristics of the Prophet).<sup>14</sup>
- Al Ḥāfiẓ al Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH) in his book *al Shamā’il al Nabawiyyah wa al Khaṣā’iṣ al Muṣṭafawiyyah* (The Prophetic Qualities and the Characteristics of al Muṣṭafā), which has been printed.
- Abū al Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥayān al Isbahānī (d. 339 AH) in his book, *Akhlāq al Nabī wa Ādābuhu* (Characteristics and Manners of the Prophet), which has been printed.
- Abū Sa’īd ‘Abd al Malik ibn Muḥammad al Nīsābūrī (d. 406 AH) in *Kitāb Sharaf al Muṣṭafā* (Book of the Nobility of al Muṣṭafā).
- Abū ‘Abbās al Mustaghfirī (d. 432 AH) in his book, *Shamā’il al Nabī* (Character of the Prophet).
- Al Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544 AH) in *Kitāb al Shifā’ bi Ta’rīf Huqūq al Muṣṭafā* (Book of Healing by Knowing the Duties Toward the Muṣṭafā), which has also been printed, and is a comprehensive book.
- Al Ḥāfiẓ al Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH) explained the sources of the *ḥadīth* in the *Shifā’* in his book *Manāhil al Ṣafā fī Takhrīj Aḥādīth al Shifā’* (Springs of Purity in the Explanation of the Sources of the *ḥadīths* of al *Shifā’*), which has been printed.

A number of ‘*Ulamā’* explained *al Shifā’*, including:

- ‘Alī al Qārī (d. 1014 AH) in *Sharḥ al Shifā’* (Explanation of *al Shifā’*), which has been printed.
- Al Khafājī (d. 1069 AH) in his book, *Nasīm al Riyāḍ fī Sharḥ al Shifā’ lī al Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* (Breeze of the Gardens in the Explanation of *al Shifā’* by al Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ).

<sup>14</sup>Al Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 272.

— Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Kathīr (d. 884 AH) wrote his book, *Shamā'il al Rasūl* (Character of the Messenger), which has been printed.

From the point of view of accuracy, the books specializing in *Sīrah* come after *al Qur'ān al Karīm* and *al Ḥadīth al Sharīf*. What gives them their great academic value is the fact that the first books of *Sīrah* were written at a very early period; to be exact, in the generation of the *Tābi'ūn* when the companions were still alive, and the latter did not criticize the writers of the *Sīrah*. This implies that the companions approved of what they wrote. The companions had a vast and detailed knowledge of the *Sīrah*, because they had lived through and participated in it. Their love and devotion to the Messenger and their desire to follow and apply his *Sunnah* as regards rules of *Ḥalāl* and *Ḥarām* was a reason for spreading information about the *Sīrah* and for studying and preserving it. This was the practical application of the teachings of Islam.

A number of modern studies have been written about the pioneers in writing the *Sīrah* among the *Tābi'ūn* and those who followed them.<sup>15</sup> But they did not explain their status concerning *al Jarḥ wa al Ta'dīl*; their work was different from the study of *ḥadīth*, and was not carried out according to the rules of *muṣṭalaḥ al ḥadīth*. The pioneers are:

— Abbān ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (101-105), who is a reliable *tābi'ī ḥadīth* scholar.

— 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām<sup>16</sup> (d. 94 AH), who is a reliable *tābi'ī ḥadīth* scholar and is considered to be one of the most famous *fuqahā'* in al Madīnah.

<sup>15</sup>The comprehensive studies of the writing of the *Sīrah* include:

Horovitz, *Al Maghāzī al 'Ulā wa Mu'allifuhā* (The First *Maghāzī* and their Authors).

Margoliouth, *Dirāsāt 'an al Mu'arrikhīn al 'Arab* (Studies on the Arab historians).

'Abd al 'Azīz al Dūrī, *Nashāt 'Ilm al Tārīkh 'ind al 'Arab* (The Formation of Knowledge of History among the Arabs).

Sāliḥ al 'Alī, chapter in *Muḥādarāt fī Tārīkh al 'Arab qabl al Islām* (Lectures on the Pre-Islamic History of the Arabs).

Jawād 'Alī, chapter in *Tārīkh al 'Arab fī al Islām, al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah* (The History of the Arabs in Islam: the *Sīrah* of the Prophet).

Sayyid Ismā'il Kāshif, *Dirāsah fī Maṣādir al Tārīkh al Islāmī* (Study on the Sources of Islamic History).

Ḥusayn Nassār, *Nashāt al Tadwīn al Tārīkhī 'ind al 'Arab* (The Formation of Historical Recording among the Arabs).

Research has been written dealing specifically with one of the pioneers of *al Maghāzī*, for example:

al Dūrī, *"Dirāsah fī Sīrah al Nabī wa Mu'allifuhā Ibn Ishāq"* (Study of the *Sīrah* of the Prophet and its author Ibn Ishāq).

Fück's study about Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (in English).

Khālīd al 'Asalī's article about 'Alī al Madā'īnī.

Akram al 'Umarī's article about Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah.

<sup>16</sup>Dr. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al 'Azamī collected the reports of 'Urwah and published them recently.

– ‘Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl al Sha’bī (d. 103 AH), who is a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar. He wrote a book of *Maghāzī*.<sup>17</sup>

– ‘Āsim ibn ‘Umar ibn Qatādah (d. 119 AH) who is a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar.

– Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al Zuhri (d. 124 AH) was one of the greatest *ḥadīth* scholars of his time. The great scholars of *al Jarḥ wa al Taḍīl* proved him trustworthy. He was the first of those who used the method of collecting the *isnāds* in one place so that the sequence of events would be continuous, without the interruption of the *isnāds*. Al Zuhri was criticized for reporting *ḥadīth* from a number of his teachers, without stating which *shaykh* narrated which *ḥadīth*. But this criticism which al Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ reported from the earlier scholars, was refuted by the great ‘ulamā’, such as al Nawawī and al ‘Irāqī, when they explained that there was nothing wrong with his doing so because he made clear what he was doing, and because all his teachers were reliable.<sup>18</sup>

– Yazīd ibn Rūmān al Asadī al Madanī (d. 135 AH), a reliable *tābi’ī*, who compiled a book of *Maghāzī* based on ‘Urwah and al Zuhri. Ibn Ishāq narrated from him.<sup>19</sup>

– ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥazm (d. 135 AH), a reliable *tābi’ī ḥadīth* scholar.

– Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah (d. 26AH), a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar and one of al Zuhri’s students. Imām Mālik commended his books of *Maghāzī* and said that he was the most trustworthy authority of *Maghāzī*.<sup>20</sup>

Yahyā ibn Ma’in said: “The book of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah which was reported from al Zuhri is one of the soundest (*ṣaḥīḥ*) of these books.”<sup>21</sup>

Imām al Shāfi’ī said: “There is no book about *Maghāzī* which is more sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) than that of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, despite its being small and devoid of most of what is mentioned in other books.”<sup>22</sup>

Al Dhahabī said: “The *Maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah is not a big volume. We have heard it read, and most of it is *ṣaḥīḥ* and *mursal jayyid*, but is condensed and needs more explanation and needs to be completed.”<sup>23</sup>

– Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al Raḥmān ibn Nawfal (d. 131 AH) in his book, *Al Maghāzī*.<sup>24</sup>

– Sulayman ibn Ṭarkhān al Tiri (d. 143 AH), a reliable *tābi’ī ḥadīth* scholar.

<sup>17</sup>Al Khaṭīb, *Tarīkh Baghdād* (The History of Baghdad) 12/230.

<sup>18</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Explanation of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*), 5/623; and al ‘Irāqī, *Tarḥ al Tathrib* (Repudiation of Blame), 8/47.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*. (The Revision of the Revision) 9/225.

<sup>20</sup>Al Dhahabī, *Siyar Alām*, 6/115.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 6/117.

<sup>22</sup>al Khaṭīb, *Al Jāmi’ li Akhlāq al Rāwī wa ‘Ādāb al Sāmi’* (The Comprehensive Book of the Characteristics of the Narrator and the Manners of the Listener), 225.

<sup>23</sup>Al Dhahabī, *Siyar Alām*, 2/115-6.

<sup>24</sup>*Ansāb al Ashraf* (The Genealogy of the Noble), 1/112, 351.

— Mu‘ammar ibn Rāshid (d. 153 AH), a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar, and also one of al Zuhri’s students. “He was one of the vessels of knowledge, with truthfulness, investigation, piety, sublimity and the ability to classify knowledge.”<sup>25</sup>

— Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 151 AH), one of al Zuhri’s students and a leader in the field of *Maghāzī*. His reports do not reach the level of *ṣaḥīḥ*, but they are *ḥasan* provided that he explains in the *isnād* that someone reported to him, because he is *mudallis*. His *Sīrah* includes both *ḥasan* and *ḍa‘īf ḥadīth*. Ibn ‘Adī said: “I inspected his *ḥadīth* and did not find anything which could prove that they were *ḍa‘īf*. He could be mistaken or confused in some places, just as others are. None of the trustworthy scholars and Imāms hesitated to quote from him, and there is no objection to him.”

This testimony is so important, not because of the high status of Ibn ‘Adī and his strictness in authentication, but because it is based on the examination of the reports, and not just on the reporting of the sayings of earlier critics, which revolve around accusing Ibn Ishāq of predestination, shī‘ism, and *tadlīs*.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere, they accuse him of possibly having lied in the report from Fāṭimah, the wife of Hishām ibn ‘Urwah ibn al Zubayr. His lie was not proven, and many critical Imāms, including Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, refuted this accusation. Al Ḥāfiẓ al Dhahabī said: “There is no doubt that Ibn Ishāq went to great lengths not to omit anything in the details of his genealogies. It is better to condense them. He went to great lengths in mentioning poems which are not necessary. It is better to omit them. He went to great lengths in mentioning things without verifying them. Yet he omitted a lot of the *ṣaḥīḥ* material which was not available to him. So his book needs revision and correction, and the reporting of what he missed.”<sup>27</sup>

Al Ḥāfiẓ al Dhahabī excelled in explaining the status of Ibn Ishāq’s *ḥadīth*. Concerning Ibn Ishāq, he said: “He has a relatively high status, especially in the field of *Sīrah*, but in the *ḥadīths* dealing with *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*, the status of his reports decreases from the level of *ṣiḥḥah* (soundness) to the level of *ḥasan*, except for when he is the only narrator or there is some irregularity, in which case the *ḥadīth* is considered *munkar* (invalid).<sup>28</sup>

That does not make all the reports in his book about *Sīrah* authentic, because there are some reports which are *munkar* and *munqaṭi‘*, as al Ḥāfiẓ al Dhahabī says in *Mizān al ‘Iṭidāl* (The Balance of Moderation): “Ibn Ishāq is sound

<sup>25</sup>Al Dhahabī, *Siyar A‘lām*, 7/6.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 7/139.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 7/139.

<sup>28</sup>Al Dhahabī, *Siyar A‘lām*, 7/27. It is said in *Tarḥ al Taḥrīb Sharḥ al Taqrīb* (The Rejection of Blame and Explanation of Approximation), 8/72: “The scholars’ acceptance of Ibn Ishāq’s *ḥadīth* is well-known, but he is *mudallis*. If, however, he explains in the *isnād* that someone reported to him, his *ḥadīth* will be accepted.”



in *ḥadīth*, and I do not find any fault with him except for what he mentioned in the *Sīrah* from the *munkar* and *munqaṭi'* reports.<sup>29</sup>

— Abū Ma'shar al Sindī (d. 171 AH) is versed in *maghāzī*, but weak (*ḍa'īf*) in *ḥadīth*. However, his weakness is relative, and his *ḥadīth* may be recorded in spite of that, especially if they are reported from Muḥammad ibn Ka'b and Muḥammad ibn Qays. This is according to the moderate group of critics, because the method of the *ḥadīth* scholars is to accept the opinion of the moderate critics in the case of *tajrīh* when it contradicts the opinion of the stricter critics.<sup>30</sup>

— 'Abd al Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm al Madanī (d. 176 AH), who is a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar, in his book *Al Maghāzī*.<sup>31</sup>

— Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al Umawī (d. 194 AH), a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar who wrote about *Maghāzī*.

— Al Walīd ibn Muslim al Dimashqī (d. 196 AH), a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar.

— Yūnus ibn Bukayr (d. 199 AH), one of the narrators of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq. He added to the *maghāzī*, as mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>32</sup>

— Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al Wāqidī (d. 207 AH). He is *ḍa'īf* in the opinion of the *ḥadīth* scholars, despite his abundant knowledge. His reports do not lend themselves to argumentation in matters of basic beliefs and principles and *Sharī'ah*, but they are useful in describing the details of events which have nothing to do with basic beliefs and principles and *Sharī'ah*. A thorough study of his *maghāzī* will show that he includes many reports with different chains which mention men whose biographies we cannot find in the books of *Ilm al Rijāl*. Ibn Sa'd transmitted some reports from al Wāqidī, but it seems that he chose them carefully, because we can find the biographies of the men mentioned in the *isnāds* in the books of *Ilm al Rijāl*. This means that al Wāqidī's *isnāds* mention men who are not known to have reported *ḥadīth*. For this reason the books of *Ilm al Rijāl* do not mention their biographies, or else they are fabricated names invented by al Wāqidī or some of his teachers.

From this we can see the reason why the critical *ḥadīth* scholars accused him of lying and fabricating *ḥadīth*, and why they judged him to be rejected. There is no doubt that collecting and studying the reports of a narrator, and judging the narrator on the basis of these reports was the method of many critical Imāms in judging the narrators who reported a great deal.

— Muḥammad ibn 'A'idh al Dimashqī (d. 234 AH), a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar. Ibn Ḥajar read a selected part of his *Maghāzī* (as was mentioned in *Al Mu'jam al Mufahras*, p. 27a).

<sup>29</sup>*Mizān al 'Itidāl*, 3/469.

<sup>30</sup>Refer to Ibn Hibbān, *Al Majrūhūn* (The Unauthenticated narrators), 3/60; Al Bukhārī, *Al Tārīkh al Kabīr* (The Comprehensive Book of History), 8/114; Al Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13/427; Al Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām*, 7/435-440; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10/420-421.

<sup>31</sup>al Nadīm, *al Fihrist*, 282.

<sup>32</sup>*Al Isābah fi Tamyiz al Ṣaḥābah* (The True Stories about the Lives of the Companions), 1/242.

— ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al Madā’inī (d. 225 AH). Ibn ‘Adī mentioned that he is not *qawī* (strong) in *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned his biography in *Lisān al Mizān* (The Speech of the Scales). This book deals specifically with the biographies of *ḍa‘īf* narrators. It proves to us that Ibn Ḥajar does not think that he is reliable in *ḥadīth*. There is, however, something mentioned in his biography which shows that he is reliable in *akhbār* (reports) other than *ḥadīth*. But al Madā’inī is distinguished by his treatment of some subjects of *Sīrah*, which he dealt with in one specific book. These subjects are important in dealing with the social and economic aspects of *Sīrah*.

— ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Nufayl (d. 234 AH) wrote a book of *maghāzī* and is reliable and *ḥāfiẓ*, having memorized many *ḥadīth*.

— Ṣāliḥ ibn Ishāq al Jurami al Naḥwī (d. 225 AH) was great in *ḥadīth* and *akhbār*, and wrote an admirable book on *Sīrah*.<sup>33</sup>

— Ismā‘īl ibn Jumay’ (Jamī’) (d. 277 AH) in his book: *Akhbār al Nabī wa Maghāzīhi wa Sarāyāhu* (Reports of the Prophet and his *Maghāzī* and *Sarāyā*).<sup>34</sup>

— Aḥmad ibn al Ḥārith al Kharrāz (d. 258 AH) in his book, *Maghāzī al Nabī wa Sarāyāhu wa Azwājuhu* (The *Maghāzī*, *Sarāyā* and Wives of the Prophet).

— ‘Abd al Malī’. ibn Muḥammad al Raqāshī al Baṣrī (d. 276 AH) in his book, *al Maghāzī*. He is *ṣadūq* (truthful), but he makes mistakes.

— Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl al ‘Anbarī al Ṭūsī (d. 280 AH), in his book *al Maghāzī*.

— Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq al Qāḍī (d. 282 AH), in his book *al Maghāzī*.

The biographies mentioned the names of a number of *tābi‘ūn* and their followers and those who came after them, describing them as knowing about the *Sīrah* and being concerned about it. Among them were:

— Abū Ishāq ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al Sabrī (d. 127 AH).

— Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Utbah ibn al Mughīrah al Madanī (d. 128 AH).

— Dāwūd ibn al Ḥusayn al Umawī (d. 135 AH).

— ‘Abd al Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al ‘Azīz al Ḥanīfī (d. 162 AH).

— Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Dinār (d. 162 AH).

— ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far al Makhrimī al Madanī (d. 170 AH).

The sources did not claim that these wrote books of *Sīrah*, but they referred to their concern about discussing it.<sup>35</sup> For this reason I did not list their names among the authors of *Sīrah*.

These scholars are the earliest pioneers in writing the *Sīrah*. The critics of *ḥadīth* authenticated most of them, particularly with regard to *‘adālah* and

<sup>33</sup>Al Khatīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 9/314.

<sup>34</sup>Al Nadīm, *al Fihrist*, 112.

<sup>35</sup>See Ibn Abū Ḥatīm, *Tarājimuhum fī al Jarḥ wa al Ta‘dīl* (Their biographies in *Jarḥ wa al Ta‘dīl*) 2/2/260; al Khatīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 12/230; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1/363-7, 5/172, 6/388, 11/293; *Tārīkh al Turāth al Arabī* (History of the Arab Legacy), 2/456.

*ḍabt* (authenticity and accuracy). These two conditions were laid down by the *‘ulamā’* for authenticating the narrators. If the narrators were authenticated by the *ḥadīth* scholars, who maintained strict conditions of authentication,<sup>36</sup> then this authentication gives great academic importance to these scholars' work in *Sīrah*.

Allah protected the *Sīrah* of His Prophet from loss, alteration, and exaggeration by preparing great *ḥadīth* scholars to take care of it and to record its earliest sources, before the historians and storytellers could deal with it. This is a distinguishing feature of the sources of *sīrah*, which is not found in any other books of history and *akhbār*.

This distinguishing feature is due to the *ḥadīth* scholars being trustworthy and reliable in reporting, and they are *‘ulamā’* who have clearly-defined methods of criticizing the *sanad* and *matn* of the reports. Their method is serious and avoids any addition or exaggeration.

In fact, most of the works of these great scholars of *Sīrah* whom I have mentioned have been lost, but the following sources which have reached us are based on their work, and have transmitted much from them with *isnāds*. The later works are based on the earlier works, not only in the use of the material, but also in the way in which the material is laid out in the book. One of the most prominent sources of *Sīrah* which has reached us is the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām.

The *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām is a revision of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq, in which Ibn Hishām omitted many of the *Isrā’īliyyāt* and poems, and to which he added information about the language and genealogies. After this revision, this *Sīrah* became acceptable to the majority of the *‘ulamā’*. Writers after Ibn Hishām relied on his work. In fact, the picture which the *Maghāzī* gives of the life of the Messenger is very close to what is described in the *ṣaḥīḥ* books of *ḥadīth*. This greatly authenticates this book of *Sīrah*. The *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām has been explained by al Ḥāfiẓ al Suhaylī (d. 581 AH) in his book *Al Rawḍ al Anif* (The Proud Garden).

Other sources include:

— *Maghāzī al Wāqidi* by Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al Wāqidī (d. 207 AH) who sometimes adds to the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq.<sup>37</sup> He gives his opinion about the reports and states which are more reliable.<sup>38</sup> The *‘ulamā’* recognize that he has a great deal of *Sīrah* material, but the *ḥadīth* scholars, in particular, consider him *ḍa’if*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Akram al ‘Umarī, Introduction to *Tārīkh* by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, 24-25.

<sup>37</sup>Marsden Jones, Introduction to *Maghāzī al Wāqidi*, 34; Al Dūrī, *Nashāt ‘Ilm al Tārīkh ‘ind al ‘Arab*, 31.

<sup>38</sup>Marsden Jones, Introduction to *Maghāzī al Wāqidi*, 34.

<sup>39</sup>See his biography in: Al Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 3/21.

Al Nasā'ī has stated: "He (al Wāqidī) fabricates *ḥadīth*". Imām al Shāfi'ī, Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Abū Ḥatīm also accused him of fabricating *ḥadīth*. Imām Aḥmad said that he was *kadhdhāb* (liar).

Ibn 'Adī stated: "His *ḥadīth* are not known, and he caused a lot of trouble."

Ibn Hajar added: "He is *matrūk* (rejected) in spite of his vast knowledge."<sup>40</sup>

Ibn Sayyid al Nās defended him, but this defense is useless in the face of the explanation given by other critics.

— *Al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā* (The Greater Categories), by Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH), in the first two volumes deals specifically with the *Sīrah*. Ibn Sa'd is reliable and he selects the best of al Wāqidī's many reports (as al Khaṭīb al Baghdādī and Ibn Hajar agree). However, he conveys from the *du'afā'* (weak scholars) such as al Wāqidī, from whom he conveyed so much that Ibn al Nadīm accused him of stealing al Wāqidī's work. A thorough study shows that Ibn Sa'd is a writer who has his own method, and that he transmitted as much from al Wāqidī as he did from other teachers, of whom the most prominent are 'Affān ibn Muslim, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Mūsā and al Faḍl ibn Dakīn. These three are trustworthy *ḥadīth* scholars.<sup>41</sup>

— *Tārīkh* of Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt (d. 240 AH) is a reliable *ḥadīth* scholar, and one of the teachers of Imām al Bukhārī for his book *al Ṣaḥīḥ*. His book is a general history, the beginning of which deals briefly with events of the *Sīrah*, relying mostly on Ibn Ishāq.<sup>42</sup>

— *Ansāb al Ashrāf* (The Genealogies of the Noble), by Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir al Balādhurī (d. 279 AH) is a general history classified according to genealogy. In the first part, al Balādhurī deals specifically with the *Sīrah*. The *ḥadīth* scholars regard al Balādhurī to be *ḍa'īf*. Ibn Hajar referred to his biography in his book about the *du'afā'* (*Lisān al Mizān*).

— *Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk* (History of the Messengers and Kings) by Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH). A part of this history deals specifically with the *Sīrah*. Al Ṭabarī is trustworthy and relied for the most part on Ibn Ishāq. Al Ṭabarī's method was not to concern himself with criticizing the reports he mentions and saying whether they were *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḍa'īf*; rather, he includes them with their *isnāds*, and leaves the reader to verify them and consider which are the most appropriate.<sup>43</sup>

— *Durar fī Ikhtisār al Maghāzī wa al Siyar* (Jewels of the Summaries of the *Maghāzī* and *Siyar*), by Ibn 'Abd al Barr al Qurtubī (d. 463 AH) was one of the greatest *ḥadīth* scholars of his time. He relied on the *Sīrah* of Ibn Abū Katham, as well as on the books of *ḥadīth*.<sup>44</sup> He cited transmission from al

<sup>40</sup>See his biography in: Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, and *Taqrīb al Tahdhīb*.

<sup>41</sup>Akrām al 'Umārī, *Buḥūth fī Tārīkh al Sunnah al Musharrafah* (Research in the History of the Ennobled Sunnah).

<sup>42</sup>Akrām al 'Umārī, Introduction to the *Tārīkh* of Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, 26-27.

<sup>43</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk*, Abū al Faḍl Ibrāhīm), 1/8.

<sup>44</sup>Shawqī Ḍayf, Introduction to *Al Durar*, 8.

Wāqidī in only one place<sup>45</sup> but he indicated that he reported his *Maghāzī*.<sup>46</sup> He also mentioned that he followed Ibn Ishāq in the general structure of his book<sup>47</sup> but he was not precise about mentioning the *isnād*.

— *Jawāmi' al Sīrah* (Collections of *Sīrah*) by Ibn Ḥazm al Zāhirī (d. 456 AH) ignored the scholarly method of mentioning the *isnāds*, and did not indicate sources.<sup>48</sup> Ibn Ḥazm al Zāhirī stated which reports were more reliable, and recorded the reports he preserved in his book. He investigated the historical events.<sup>49</sup> His most frequent approach was that of summarization. Thus he omitted the poems and stories in the *Sīrah*.<sup>50</sup>

— *Al Kāmil fī al Tārīkh* (The Complete Book of History), by Ibn al Athīr al Jazarī (d. 632 AH), who is a reliable historian, and is a general history book, part of which deals specifically with the *Sīrah*.

— *Uyūn al Āihār fī Funūn al Maghāzī wa al Shamā'il wa al Siyar* (The Sources of Relics in the Literature of *al Maghāzī*, *al Shamā'il*, and *al Siyar*), is written by Ibn Sayyid al Nās (d. 734 AH), a trustworthy *ḥadīth* scholar. Al Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr authenticated him. He conveyed much in his book from the books of *ḥadīth*, as well as from the books of *Maghāzī* which were written before his time. He identified his sources in the introduction to his book.

— *Zād al Ma'ād fī Hadyi Khayr al 'Ibād* (Provision for the Day of Judgment in the Ways of the Best of Mankind), by Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyyah (d. 751 AH) was one of the greatest scholars of his time. His book is valuable in the fields of *Shamā'il*, *Adab*, *Fiqh*, and *Maghāzī*, because it is a mixture of all these.

— *Al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah* by al Ḥāfiẓ al Dhahabī (d. 748 AH), a reliable author who is an excellent critic, especially in applying the rules of the *ḥadīth* scholars. He is considered to be one of those who thoroughly applied these rules in investigating texts. He criticized only a few reports mentioned in his book.

— *Al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah* (The Beginning and the End), by al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH). It is a general history, part of which deals specifically with the *Sīrah*. Ibn Kathīr is one of the reliable Imāms who thoroughly investigated texts. Al Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn 'Imād al Ḥanbalī authenticated him.

<sup>45</sup>Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Durar*, 39.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 276.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 29. See also Shawqī Dayf, Introduction to *al Durar*, 12.

<sup>48</sup>*Jawāmi' al Sīrah* mentioned the transmission from Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt in three places, and transmission from the History of Abū Ḥassān al Ziyādī in three places also, and from *al Durar* by Ibn 'Abd al Barr in one place. Those who made a study of his book realized that he transmitted a lot from *al Durar*, with some alteration. Shawqī Dayf confirmed this in the Introduction to *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 15; and in the Introduction to *al Durar*, 15.

<sup>49</sup>Introduction to *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 10.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 13.

— *Imtā' al Asmā'* (The Delight of the Ears) by al Maqrizī, who is reliable. Al Maqrizī used the method of summarizing, and ignored mentioning the *isnād*. Al Sakhāwī said about *al Imtā'*: "It contains much which is open to criticism."<sup>51</sup>

— *Al Mawāhib al Ladunniyah bi al Minaḥ al Muḥammadiyyah* (The Mystic Gifts Which Were Bestowed Upon Muḥammad) by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al Qaṣṭalānī (d. 923 AH).

— *Sharḥ al Mawāhib al Ladunniyah* (Explanation of *al Mawāhib al Ladunniyah*) by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al Bāqī al Zarqānī (d. 1122 AH).

*Al Mawāhib* and its explanation are among the comprehensive books about *Shamā'il* and *Sīrah*.

— *Al Sīrah al Ḥalabiyyah* by Burhān al Dīn al Ḥalabī (d. 841 AH). This book contains a great deal of unnecessary details and stories from the *Isrā'iliyyāt*.<sup>52</sup> The author omitted the *isnāds* of the reports and only mentioned the *rāwī* of the *khbar*. We explained some of the *gharīb ḥadīth*, as well as making other comments.

— *Subul al Hudā wa al Rashād fī Sīrah Khayr al 'Ibād* (Ways of Guidance and Wisdom in the *Sīrah* of the Best of Mankind) by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al Dimashqī al Shāmī (d. 942 AH). The author selected his material from more than three hundred books.

The works identified above are the most important sources of *Sīrah* to have reached us. From the point of view of accuracy, as previously mentioned, they come after *al Qur'ān al Karīm* and *al Ḥadīth al Sharīf*. But that does not mean that everything mentioned in the books of *Sīrah* has the same degree of *ṣiḥḥah* (soundness). It is not necessary, however, for all of the *Sīrah* to be *ṣaḥīḥ*; rather, there is both *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍa'īf* in it. When studying the *Sīrah*, we should rely on the *ṣaḥīḥ* in the first instance, then complete the picture with what is *ḥāsan*, or close to it, not referring to the *ḍa'īf* on matters having bearing on basic beliefs and principles or *tashrī'*. There is nothing wrong with using the *Sīrah* when we cannot find stronger reports which will encourage high moral standards or which describe buildings, crafts, agriculture, and the like.

Following is the method the *ḥadīth* scholars themselves used. 'Abd al Rahmān ibn Mahdī (d. 197 AH) said: "When we report anything from the Prophet dealing with *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* and *aḥkām*, we are strict about the *isnāds* and we are more critical about the men in the *isnād*. When we report anything about moral excellence, *thawāb* (reward) and *'iqāb* (punishment), we are not strict with the *isnāds* and we are lenient with the men."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Al Sakhāwī, *al I'tān bi al Tawbikh* (The Announcement of Reproof), supplement to *Ilm al Tarikh 'ind al Muslimūn* (History of Muslim Historiography) by Rosenthal, 30.

<sup>52</sup>Jawād 'Alī, *Tārīkh al 'Arab qabl al Islām al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah*, 10.

<sup>53</sup>*Fath al Mughith*, 1/284.

The *isnāds* and *mutūn* of the *Sīrah* need to be closely examined in accordance with the *ḥadīth* scholar's rules of *ḥadīth* criticism. What could help us in doing so is the fact that all the important sources of *Sīrah* introduce every report with the *isnād*, and most of the reporters of *Sīrah* are also *ḥadīth* scholars whose biographies are mentioned in *Kutub al Rijāl*. These books clarify their status and explain what has been said about them as regards *jarḥ* and *ta'dīl*.

Some scholars today do not use the method of the *ḥadīth*. They find to be insurmountable, the difficulties and efforts involved in knowing the men and their status, in examining them, in mastering *ʿUlūm al Ḥadīth* and in getting experience in applying this method to historical criticism. Others ignore this method for other reasons; they undermine it by detracting from its advantages, by making others doubt its importance, and by exaggerating some of its shortcomings.

There is no doubt that some scholars are ignorant of the reality of *ʿUlūm al Ḥadīth*. Asad Rustam, a Christian with no bias toward any particular religion, explained the importance of the *ḥadīth* scholars' methods of criticism, affirming that the *ḥadīth* scholars were the first to apply these methods and that theirs was a unique achievement. Rustam stated this in his book *Muṣṭalaḥ al Tārīkh* (The Terminology of History). One must follow this method of criticism when studying the *Sīrah*, and when studying Islamic history in general. Accuracy in this field is important since the field deals with *Aqīdah* and *Sharī'ah* and with shaping the Islamic personality. But there is still a great need to use this method in studying the history of the *Rāshidah* Caliphate, the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. The books of history are a mixture of selections which were reported by the *Akhbārīs* who had different political and sectarian aspirations and who were influenced by worldly interests. If one wanted to give a picture of the Umayyad era, for example, only from the reports of Abū Mikhnaf, it would be very different from the picture which would be drawn only from the reports of 'Awānah ibn al Ḥakm or Abū al Yaqẓān al Nassābah.

### Supplementary sources

From the point of view of accuracy and order of importance, the supplementary sources come after *al Qur'ān al Karīm*, *al Ḥadīth al Sharīf* and the specialized books of *Sīrah*. These sources complete the picture, and fill some of the gaps which are left after using all the original sources.

Literary works shed light on the cultural life, standard of living, styles of dress, food, customs, and other aspects of life at the time of the *Sīrah*. The poetry, in particular, is considered to be important historical documentation because it reflects the intellectual and social life, and depicts the battles,

focusing on bravery. Here it is sufficient to mention the role of Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ka'b ibn Mālik and 'Abd Allah ibn Rawāḥah in depicting some of the events of the *Sīrah*. But we should be aware that literary works include matters which are *shādhah* (odd), *gharīb* (strange) and *ṭarīf* (curious). These works are more concerned with such matters than with reporting the events of daily life. Hence, the danger of generalizing the contents of these books becomes clear.

The books about the companions give the biographies of the generation which lived through the events of the *Sīrah*, and provide authenticated historical information, although limited and scattered. Some of this information deals with *Akhhbār* about them. The rest of the biographies and books of men (*Kutub al Rijāl*), in accordance with the books about the companions, are a useful introduction to the men mentioned in the *isnāds* of the books of the *Sīrah*. These books have a great influence on the study of the sources of *Sīrah* books and on enabling scholars to criticize their *isnāds*.

The historical books of geography shed light on the features of the land in the Arabian Peninsula where the events of the *Sīrah* took place; they give details about the standard of living and agricultural production, the distance between different places, and the distribution of the clans.

Thus, the supplementary sources help in completing a study of aspects of the *Sīrah* and clarifying small details.

The preceding has been a brief review of the sources of the *Sīrah*. In conclusion, I can only mention our urgent need for a comprehensive method of historical criticism and interpretation. Unless the methods of historical criticism and interpretation are perfected, Islamic historical studies will remain limited and incapable of giving a true scholarly interpretation of the historical biography of our *Ummah*.

European thought has produced a great number of studies on the nature of history and the methods of historical criticism and interpretation, some of which have been translated into Arabic.<sup>54</sup> But these studies reflect the Western point of view which is based on the European philosophy of life, the nature of European history, and the particular problems encountered in studying it. The application of these studies is taken from European history. We need studies at the same level, based on *Aqidah* and modified to suit our history, which do not look at our history from the Western point of view.

It is appropriate to point out that several Muslim scholars have written

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<sup>54</sup>See for example: Collingwood, *The Idea of History*; Edward Carr, *What is History?*; A. L. Raus, *History, Its Influence and Benefit*; Frederick Engels, *Socialist Interpretation of History*; Langelois Wisinbos, *Historical Criticism*; Ernest Cassirer, *Concerning Historical Knowledge*; Joseph Hors, *The Importance of History*; Emery Naf, *Historians and the Spirit of Poetry*.



initial studies,<sup>55</sup> and have provided useful suggestions with regard to writing history from an Islamic perspective. However, these suggestions do not go far enough and do not present a workable method of research, nor a comprehensive theory on which to base the interpretation of Islamic history guided by true Islamic principles.

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<sup>55</sup>Sayyid Qutb, *Fī al Tārīkh Fikrah wa Minhāj*; (History: Concept and Method); Fathī 'Uthmān, *Adwā' alā al Tārīkh al Islāmī* (Lights on Islamic History); 'Abd al Raḥmān al Ḥājjī, *Naẓarāt fī Dirāsai al Tārīkh al Islāmī* (Views on the Study of Islamic History); 'Imad al Dīn Khalīl, *al Tafsīr al Islāmī li al Tārīkh* (The Islamic Interpretation of History); 'Abd al Ḥamīd Şiddīqī, *Tafsīr al Tārīkh* (Interpretation of History).

### ***Chapter III***



## Madīnan Society at the Time of the Prophet: Its Characteristics and Early Organization

### Madīnan society before the *Hijrah*

Yathrib is the ancient name of al Madīnah al Munawwarah. It is an oasis with fertile soil and plentiful water, and is surrounded on all sides by areas of black volcanic rock. The most important of these areas are Ḥarraḥ Wāqim in the east and Ḥarraḥ al Wabarrah in the West. Ḥarraḥ Wāqim is more fertile and more populous than Ḥarraḥ al Wabarrah. The mountain of Uḥud is located to the north of al Madīnah, and the mountain of 'Asīr to the south-west. There are many valleys in Madīnah, the most famous of which are Wādī Baṭṭān, Mudhaynīb, Mahzūr and al 'Aqīq. These valleys run from south to north, where they converge in Rūmah at the meeting-point of the floods.

The name Yathrib was mentioned in the Ma'īnī writings, an indication of its antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Our information about the city's pre-Islamic history, however, is scant and scattered. It becomes clearer as we approach the Islamic era.

### The Jews

There are different theories concerning the Jews of Madīnah and of the Ḥijāz in general, the place from which they emigrated, and when they came to the area. The most likely theory suggests that their emigration from *al Shām* (Greater Syria) in the first and second centuries CE began after the Romans gained control over Syria and Egypt in the first century BCE, and over the Nabataeans in the second century CE. The presence of the Romans caused the Jews to immigrate to the Arabian peninsula which was remote from the Roman dominance they feared.

However, the immigration of Jews to the Ḥijāz increased after the failure of the Jewish revolt against the Romans, which was suppressed by the Emperor Titus in 70 CE. Some of these migrant Jews came to Yathrib. Another group arrived there after the failure of a later rebellion which was staged during the time of the Emperor Hadrian, between 132 and 135 CE. These groups formed the Jewish community in Madīnah and in the Ḥijāz.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jawād 'Alī, *Tārīkh al 'Arab qabl al Islām*, 3/295.

<sup>2</sup>Jawād 'Alī, *Al Muḥaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al 'Arab qabl al Islām* (A Detailed History of the Arabs Before Islam) Beirut, 1968-1971, 2/513-4; Muḥammad Buyūmī Mahrān, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al*

The Jews of Banū al Naḍīr and Banū Qurayẓah came to Yathrib and settled there because of its fertile land and the importance of its trading caravan route to Syria. They settled in Ḥarrah Wāqim to the east of Yathrib, which was the most fertile area.<sup>3</sup> The other well-known Jewish tribe was the Banu Qaynuqā', about whom opinions differ as to their origins; either they were Jews who migrated to the Ḥijāz, or they were Arabs who converted to Judaism. This difference of opinion applies to other smaller tribes of Jews who are mentioned in the Arabic sources, among whom are: Banū 'Akrimah, Banū Muḥammad, Banū Za'ūrā, Banū al Shaṭībah, Banū Jasham, Banū Mu'āwiyah, Banū Murīd, Banū al Qaṣīṣ and Banū Tha'labah.<sup>4</sup>

The sources did not give any statistics on the number of Jews, but the books of *Sīrah* mention the number of warriors who are usually adult males—of each tribe. There were 700 in Banū Qaynuqā', approximately the same number in Banū al Naḍīr and between 700 and 900 in Banū Qurayẓah.<sup>5</sup> The warriors of the three Jewish tribes numbered just over 2,000. This is apart from the other smaller and less important Jewish tribes who lived in different parts of Yathrib. Al Samhūdī mentioned that there were more than twenty small tribes.<sup>6</sup>

There is no doubt that Madinan society, before the Arab presence was strengthened, was completely dominated by the Jews, economically, politically and intellectually. The Jews left their mark on the society, and at the same time were influenced by the Arab tribes surrounding Yathrib on every side. For example, the Jews brought the idea of establishing strongholds to Yathrib from Syria, the number of which reached fifty-nine.<sup>7</sup> They also brought their expertise in agriculture and crafts and this influenced the development of the plantations of Yathrib, with palms, grapes, pomegranates and some cereals. A new importance was given to poultry and livestock farming. The craft of weaving appeared, performed by tools needed in an agricultural society. As the Jews influenced the society of Madīnah so they in turn were influenced by the Arabs around them. Features of tribal solidarity appeared among the Jews, including *'aṣabiyyah*, generosity, interest in poetry and training in weapons. Tribal feeling dominated the Jews so much that they could not live as one religious group. Rather, they lived as conflicting tribes who could not close ranks even at the time of the Prophet, when they faced banishment.

*Arab al Qadīm* (Studies in the Ancient History of the Arabs) Riyadh: Islamic University of Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, 1397/1977, 448-450.

<sup>3</sup>Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al Sharīf, *Makkah wa al Madīnah fī al Jāhiliyyah wa 'Ahd al Rasūl* (Makkah and al Madīnah during the Jāhiliyyah and at the Time of the Messenger), 288.

<sup>4</sup>Al Samhūdī, *Wafā' al Wafā'* (The Fulfillment of the Fulfillment), 1/112-6; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/259.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/428, 3/259, edited by Muḥiy al Dīn 'Abd al Ḥamīd. See also Aḥmad Ibrāhīm, *Makkah wa al Madīnah*, 294.

<sup>6</sup>*Wafā'*, 1/112.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 1/116.

Of course, central to their economic activities was dealing in usury (*ribā*) although *ribā* was also known in the commercial society of Makkah.

## The Arabs

The tribes of Aws and Khazraj lived in Yathrib, to which the Jews had come earlier and taken possession of its most fertile areas and sweet water. This forced the Aws and the Khazraj to live in the deserted areas of Yathrib. The Aws and the Khazraj are connected to the great Yemenite tribe of the Azd, which emigrated from the Yemen to the north at different periods, the earliest of which was probably 207 CE, when the Khuzā'ah migrated to Makkah.

Historians differ as to the reasons for the migration of the Azd. Some attribute it to the destruction of the Ma'rib dam, and the flood of al 'Aram. Others do not agree with this, and attribute the migration of the Azd to the political instability and economic decline which resulted from the Roman dominance over the Red Sea. This is the more likely explanation, because of its far-reaching effect on the inhabitants, including the Azd, the majority of whom lived outside the area of the Ma'rib dam.<sup>8</sup>

Among the members of the Azd who migrated were the Aws and the Khazraj, who settled in Yathrib alongside the Jews.

The Aws lived in the area of al 'Awālī (the high places) beside Qurayzah and al Naḍīr, while the Khazraj lived in the lower areas of Madīnah, where they were neighbors of Banū Qaynuqā'. The area where the Aws lived was more fertile than that of the Khazraj. This affected the conflict between the two sides.<sup>9</sup>

Sidyū defines the date of their migration as being in the year 300 CE, and the date of their dominance of Yathrib as 492 CE. There is no doubt that some changes in the economy and the population took place in favor of the Arabs. These changes were embodied in the increase of their numbers and wealth.<sup>10</sup> There are no statistics for the number of Aws and Khazraj, but the two tribes provided 4,000 warriors for the Islamic army which went to liberate Makkah in 8 AH.<sup>11</sup> There is no doubt that these changes paved the way for their dominance over Yathrib, in which the Jews held sway. The Jews tried to defend their control by dividing the unity of the Aws and the Khazraj, and by provoking conflict between them. They succeeded in increasing the enmity between them and in starting wars between the two sides. The last of these wars was the battle of Bu'āth, five years before the *Hijrah*, when the Aws,

<sup>8</sup> Aḥmad Ibrāhīm, *Makkah wa al Madīnah*, 315; Muḥammad Buyūmī, *Tārīkh al Arab al Qadīm*, 358-9.

<sup>9</sup> Aḥmad Ibrāhīm, *Makkah wa al Madīnah*, 338-340.

<sup>10</sup> Al Samhūdī, *Wafā*, 1/125/6.

<sup>11</sup> Aḥmad Ibrāhīm, *Makkah wa al Madīnah*, 343.

on account of their superior forces, defeated the Khazraj, who had hitherto often been the victors. The Aws had resorted to making an alliance with the Jews of al Naḍir and Qurayzah, and defeated the Khazraj at Bu'āth. But the Aws were aware of the dangers of destroying the Khazraj, because that would have enabled the Jews to regain control of Yathrib. For this reason, they tried to reconcile their differences. The two sides even agreed to nominate a man from the Khazraj as king of Yathrib. He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl who, along with his family, had decided to remain neutral in the war of Bu'āth. This shows that the Arabs were able to preserve their power and supremacy over the Jews after the battle of Bu'āth.

Undoubtedly, while the encounter between the Aws and the Khazraj before Islam produced feelings of bitterness on both sides, it also evoked a strong desire to live in peace. This feeling was closely connected with Yathrib's subsequent acceptance of Islam, the harbinger of brotherhood and peace. 'Ā'ishah, may God be pleased with her, spoke about the effect of the wars and conflicts on the people's acceptance of Islam when she said:

The Battle of Bu'āth, God brought it about before the coming of His Messenger. When the Messenger of God came (to Madīnah), they (the Aws and the Khazraj) were divided into rival factions, and their nobles had been killed or wounded. God brought this about before the coming of His Messenger, so that they might (readily) embrace Islām.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/44, 5/67; Ibn Hishām, *Ṣirah*, 1/183.

## *Chapter IV*





## The Effect of Islam on Madīman Society

There is no doubt that each civilization, philosophy and religion has its own distinguishing features. The stronger the character of the civilization, and the more profound and comprehensive it is, the greater are its effects on the individual living within its bounds. Some ideologies are similar to each other, and differ only in specific ways, as is the case with the materialistic philosophies dominant in the contemporary world. To change from one to the other does not require any complete and radical transformation in the life of a person. If his attachment to one principle changes, and his conviction in another increases, that is all that is needed to bring about change from one such ideology to another. This change does not require any great effort because it does not have any effect on daily behavior or deep-seated habits, and is thus not reflected in the practical life of the individual.

This phenomenon does not apply to Islam. Since its appearance, this religion has brought about a radical transformation in the life of the individual and of the society in that it completely alters the daily behavior and deep-seated habits of individuals, as it alters their standards, judgments, and outlook on the universe, life, and man. Likewise, the structure of the society is visibly altered, some aspects disappear and new ones emerge.

The changes which Islam brings about are both profound and comprehensive. In terms of basic beliefs and principles, it represents a leap from the worship of tangible things such as idols and stars which can be seen or touched, to the worship of the one God, who cannot be pictured or represented and whose precise nature cannot be known: "There is nothing whatever like unto Him" (*al Shūrā* 42:11); "No vision can grasp Him, but His grasp is over all vision . . ." (*al Anām* 6:103). He is known only by what He describes Himself in His book and through the words of His trustworthy Messenger, with neither *tamthīl* (representation), *tashbīh* (anthropomorphism), *naḥī* (negation), nor *taḥzīl* (a theological concept denying all attributes of Allah).

There is a great leap from the 'primitive mind' which deals only with tangible matters, to the 'civilized mind' which is able to grasp the concept of the affirmation of the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*) and His being over and above all human attributes (*tanzīh*), the Lord and Sustainer of all beings. In the daily behavior of the individual, Islam brought about a radical change. What he was in pre-Islamic days is far removed from what he became later when he accepted Islam. The Arab is no longer unrestrained by laws in his social dealings and

relationships. He has become disciplined by the restraining force of the *Sharī'ah* in all aspects of his life, in moral behavior and habits, his sleeping and waking, eating and drinking, marriage and divorce, buying and selling. There is no doubt that habits control the individual, and that it is difficult to rid oneself of old habits and acquire new habits and characteristics. But the profound faith which Islam generated in the hearts of converts enabled them to shed their pre-Islamic personality in all its aspects, and to acquire the Islamic personality with all its values. They became accustomed to worshipping God Almighty, directing all their social and economic activities toward Him, because worship in Islam encompasses all activity and movement which is intended for God. They adhered to the practice of *ṣalāh* (worship), which is a pillar of the religion, five times daily at specific times.

There is no doubt that human nature sometimes becomes lazy and tries to avoid duties and commitments, but the Muslim, in as much as he has surrendered himself to God, becomes accustomed to fulfilling these duties. Allah said, explaining how much patience the *ṣalāh* needs: "Enjoin *ṣalāh* on thy people, and persevere therein. . ." (*Tāhā* 20:132).

Likewise, the duty of *ṣawm* (fasting), which disrupts the daily eating and drinking habits of the individual, needs a strong will and faithful determination. The *zakāh*, which involves giving up a part of the money which one has acquired every year, requires the individual to rid himself of greed and avarice. In order to pay *zakāh*, the Muslim must love God more than he loves money. For this reason, many of the apostates during the caliphate of Abū Bakr al Ṣiddīq declared that they were prepared to stay in Islam if they were exempted from paying the *zakāh*.

Besides becoming accustomed to the new ordinances and forcing himself to perform them, the Muslim has no alternative but to rid himself of many deep-rooted habits such as drinking wine, the forms of marriage which Islam forbade, and the *ribā* on which the economy of Makkah and other cities was based. The Muslims rid themselves of these habits, and others, in response to the commands of God:

O you who believe! Intoxicants and gambling, (dedication of) stones, and (divination by) arrows, are an abomination of Satan's handiwork. Eschew such (abomination), that you may prosper. Satan's plan is (but) to excite enmity and hatred between you, with intoxicants and gambling, and hinder you from the remembrance of Allah, and from prayer: Will you not then abstain? (*Al Mā'idah* 5:93, 94)

The *Anṣār* brought large jars of wine out into the streets and poured the wine, saying, "We have stopped (drinking wine), O Lord." The drinking of wine, which they abandoned, was a deep-rooted habit in both their individual

and social life, and the wine which they spilled was wealth which they sacrificed in submission to God, the Lord and Sustainer of all the worlds.

The Arab would not submit himself to the control of any state. The political and social unit was the tribe. The small states which had emerged in different parts of the Arabian peninsula long before Islam, had become defunct. Tribalism and the nomadic way of life, characterized by tribal solidarity, conflicts and division, had become dominant in the entire peninsula. When Islam came, it established the concept of the state and bound all tribes and individuals to it. The state of Madīnah was founded upon a totally ideological base, and it expanded to unite the Arabian peninsula for the first time in its history under the banner of Islam. This was an advancement in the political history of the Arabian peninsula.

Islam brought about a radical change in the individual and social life of Madīnah because of its depth and comprehensiveness, and its ability to affect the quality of all aspects of life: “(We take our) color from God, and who is better than God at coloring?” (*Al Baqarah* 2:138). We will focus on the effect of this complete transformation in the following discussions.



## *Chapter V*



## The *Hijrah* and Its Effect on the Social Structure of Madīnah

The *Muhājirūn* came to Madīnah as Yathrib was called after Islam. At the beginning, they were from various clans of Quraysh. The *hijrah* continued and it became a duty of new Muslims in all parts of the Peninsula to migrate to Madīnah. This continued until it was officially stopped after the liberation of Makkah in the eighth year of *hijrah*.

The *hijrah* was a great event which deserved to be the beginning of each new *hijrah* year among the Muslims, since ‘Umar ibn al Khattāb established the *hijrah* calender.

The *hijrah* was proof of sincerity and dedication for the sake of beliefs and principles. The *Muhājirūn* left their homeland, their wealth, their families, and their friends in response to the call of God and His Messenger. When the Quraysh tried to prevent Ṣuhayb al Rūmī from migrating, arguing that he had gathered his wealth from working in Makkah and had not had any wealth before he came there, Ṣuhayb al Rūmī left them his wealth and migrated without any possessions. When the Messenger of Allah heard about this, he said: “Ṣuhayb has profited (in the transaction).”<sup>1</sup> The disbelieving Quraysh prevented Abū Salamah from migrating with his wife and son. This did not prevent him from migrating on his own, leaving behind his wife and child. For nearly a year, his wife Umm Salamah went out weeping every morning to the *abīṭah*, and stayed there till evening, until she was able to emigrate with her son, and be reunited with her husband.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, the *hijrah* was associated with difficult situations and was a test of the faith of the believers, of the strength of their beliefs, and of the superiority of their faith over worldly considerations, interests and relationships.

The events of the *hijrah* were an indication of the soundness of the Prophet’s teaching and training of his followers. Through this process they became qualified to bear the responsibility of Allah’s vicegerency on earth, to implement the laws of Allah, to fulfill His commandments, and to struggle in His path. They became qualified when they were involved in establishing the state of Madīnah, after they had been “. . . oppressed in the land, and afraid that men might despoil and kidnap them. . .” (*al Anfal* 8:26).

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<sup>1</sup>Al Hākim, *al Mustadrak*. 3/390. He states it was *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the criteria of Muslim.

<sup>2</sup>See *al Iṣābah*. 8/222.



Allah chose Madīnah for the *hijrah* of the Muslims, as explained in the authentic report in which the Messenger of Allah said: "Your place of immigration has been shown to me. I have seen salty land, planted with date palms and situated between two mountains which are the two *Ḥarrah*." (Narrated by al Bukhārī and Muslim).

The Messenger delayed his *hijrah*, and told Abū Bakr al Ṣiddīq to do likewise until God gave him permission to migrate. 'Ā'ishah said: "Abū Bakr prepared to go to Madīnah, and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Do not rush! I hope that I will receive permission to migrate (so that you can come with me)." When Allah gave permission to His Messenger to leave, he did not tell anybody except 'Alī, and Abū Bakr and his family. The unbelievers became angry at the migration of the Muslims, so they conspired to kill the Prophet of Allah. Allah said: "Remember how the unbelievers plotted against thee, to keep thee in bonds, or slay thee, or get thee out (of thy home). They plot and plan, and Allah too plans, but the best of planners is Allah" (*Al Aḥzāl* 8:30).

The Prophet and Abū Bakr eventually departed by way of the mountain of Thawr, where they took refuge in a cave. The disbelieving Quraysh followed them there, and came so close that they might have been able to see their feet from outside the cave. Abū Bakr said: "If anyone looks down at his feet, he will see us." The Messenger said: "O Abū Bakr, what do you think of two people of whom Allah is the third."<sup>3</sup> God diverted the attention of the *Mushrikūn* away from them, and they did not notice them. Three days later they both left the cave and made their way across the desert to Madīnah.<sup>4</sup> The Messenger of Allah was then fifty-three years of age and Abū Bakr was fifty-one, but nothing can prevent the heart which is connected to Allah from reaching its goal or from realizing the aims of the message. The message of Islam is to organize matters of worship (*ibādah*) and interhuman relationships (*mu'āmalāt*). It is a constitution of life. In order for it to be applied, it needs a territorial base and community (*Ummah*) in which these laws were completed in those parts of the Qur'ān which were revealed in Madīnah, and in what the Messenger of Allah said, did, or instructed, which is the *Sunnah*. These laws molded an ideal state in which the most ideal society that has ever emerged in human history lived. It is the model which Muslims everywhere and at every time must adopt in order to guarantee for themselves happiness in this world and the next, and to keep themselves away from hardship and misery and from being lost in the depths of the *Jāhiliyyah* which threatens to engulf them from every direction. There is no hope of salvation for them except by returning to Allah and following the guidance of His Messenger.

The *hijrah* of the Prophet to Madīnah was delayed until most of the companions who were capable of migrating had done so, in response to the order

<sup>3</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 7/217; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 7/109.

<sup>4</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, no. 351; see also, Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 3/187-8.

to migrate. The encouragement to migrate and the recognition of the virtues of those who did, continued in the revelation of Qur'ānic verses. The emerging Islamic state in Madīnah needed *Muhājirūn* who were believers in order to strengthen the authority of Islam in the city, inasmuch as the Jews, the idolaters and the hypocrites were trying to suppress it, and it was surrounded by the forces of the idolatrous Bedouin who lived around Madīnah. The *hijrah* had profoundly disturbed the disbelievers of Quraysh who kept a close watch on Madīnah, and continued plotting to destroy Islam, still in its infancy, and the emerging state. For that reason many verses were revealed which commanded migration to Madīnah, and explained its virtues and great reward. Protection for the *Muhājirūn* was promised by God to enable them to fight their enemies. God also promised them abundant sustenance:

He who forsakes his home in the cause of God, finds in the earth many a refuge, wide and spacious; should he die as a refugee from home for God and His apostle, his reward becomes due and sure with God. . . (*Al Nisā'* 4:100).

That is, he who goes out with the intention of migrating and dies on the way, God will give him the reward of one who migrated.

“Those who leave their homes in the cause of God, and are then slain or die, on them will God bestow a goodly provision” (*Al Hajj* 22:58).

Here God guarantees a goodly provision to those who migrate for His sake, whether they were killed in battle or they died naturally at home.

The Qur'ān forbade those Muslims who were able to migrate to remain among the disbelieving Quraysh. God said:

When angels take the souls of those who die in sin against their souls, they say: ‘In what (plight) were you?’ They reply: ‘Weak and oppressed were we in the earth.’ They say: ‘Was not the earth of God spacious enough for you to move yourselves away (from evil)?’ Such men will find their abode in Hell—what an evil refuge! Except those who are (really) weak and oppressed—men, women, and children—who have no means in their power, nor (a guide-post) to direct their way. For these, there is a hope that God will forgive, for God doth blot out (sins) and forgive again and again (*Al Nisā'* 4:97-99).

Living among the disbelievers is objectionable because it involves increasing their numbers, and their benefitting from the Muslims' crafts and agriculture. It could also involve forcing the Muslims to take part in their wars against

other Muslims, as happened in the Battle of Badr. In addition, it could also involve the Muslims being exposed to persecution from the unbelievers to keep Muslims away from their religion. It is clear that their being away from the Islamic state means that Muslims cannot benefit from that state in their conduct of war, in promoting Muslim interests, nor in increasing the numerical strength of the Muslims. For this reason, the Prophet said: "Whoever is in accord with a non-Muslim, and lives with him, is like him." (Abū Dāwūd).

Some of the Muslims delayed emigration from Makkah because they were under pressure from their wives and children. When they did migrate later on, they saw that those who had migrated before them had learned more about the religion, so they wanted to punish their wives and children. This was the reason for the revelation of the verse:

"O you who believe! Truly, among your spouses and your children are some that are enemies to yourselves: so beware of them!" (*al Taghābun* 64:14)

From all of this it becomes clear that the *hijrah* was compulsory for every Muslim at the beginning of Islam, until the Battle of the Ditch in 5 AH. The ability of the Islamic state to defend and protect itself against the united forces of the confederates was clearly demonstrated then, and the new state was no longer in need of new *Muhājirūn*. The strategy of the Islamic state had changed from defense to attack. The Prophet expressed this when he said: "Now we will invade them, and they will never invade us again."

Likewise, Madīnah could not cope with its increasing population and their need for food and housing. For this reason, after the Battle of the Ditch the Messenger requested some of the *Muhājirūn* to go back to their homes by saying: "Your *hijrah* is in your camel saddles," as there was no longer any need for them to stay in Madīnah. Rather, their staying among their tribes would be more useful in initiating *Da'wah* and spreading Islam outside Madīnah.

This, however, is not considered as an official end to the *hijrah*. The declaration of the end of *hijrah* came after the liberation of Makkah, when the Prophet said: "There is no *hijrah* (from Makkah to Madīnah) after the conquest (of Makkah), but *jihād* and 'intentions' remain; and if you are called (by the Muslim ruler) for fighting, go forth immediately." So the *hijrah* to Madīnah was no longer compulsory. But *jihād* and the intention to do so remained compulsory for those who undertook this task or those who were invaded by an enemy. However, in the case of those who become Muslim in any area dominated by unbelievers, and who fear persecution (*fitnah*) against their religion, *hijrah* remains an operative law if they are able to leave such a country.

The continuous *hijrah* gave rise to a greater variety of inhabitants in the composition of the Madinan population. They no longer consisted only of the

Aws and the Khazraj and the Jews: the *Muhājirūn* from the Quraysh and other Arab tribes had now come to live with them. The structure of the new Madīnan society was built on a foundation based on the bonds of basic beliefs and principles, which were superior to the relationships of tribal solidarity (*ʿaṣabiyyah*) and all other affiliations. The concept of one *ummah* emerged, as will become clear when we study the Constitution of Madīnah. The classification of the population was based on their beliefs, and they were divided into three groups: believers (*muʾminūn*), hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) and Jews.

There is no doubt that the flood of *Muhājirūn* to Madīnah produced economic and social problems which had to be dealt with decisively. The system of *Muʾākhāh* (brotherhood) was thus introduced.



## ***Chapter VI***



## The System of *Mu'akhāh* (Mutual Brotherhood) at the Time of the Prophet

Islam considers all believers to be brothers. God said: "The believers are but a single brotherhood. . ." (*Al Hujurāt* 49:10). Islam also made it a duty for them to establish a close friendship with one another and to support one another in doing what is right. The subject of this chapter, however, is the specific bond of brotherhood which was introduced and from which resulted special rights and duties, as opposed to the general rights and duties which apply to all believers as a whole.

Al Balādhurī mentions that the Prophet established bonds of brotherhood between the Muslims in Makkah before the *hijrah* on the basis of allegiance to the truth and mutual support. He established brotherhood between Ḥamzah and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah; Abū Bakr and 'Umar; 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf; al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām and 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd; 'Ubayd ibn al Ḥārith and Bilāl al Ḥabashī; Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr and Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqās; Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrāḥ and Sālim, the freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfah; Sa'id ibn Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl and Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh; and between himself and 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib.<sup>1</sup>

Al Balādhurī is considered to be the earliest scholar who mentioned the *Mu'akhāh* arrangement of Makkah. Ibn 'Abd al Barr (d. 463 AH) followed him in doing so, without mentioning that he had transmitted it from him.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, Ibn Sayyid al Nās used their data, without mentioning that he had transmitted from either of them.<sup>3</sup> Al Ḥākim reported in *al Mustadrak* from the chain of Jāmi' ibn 'Umayr on the authority of Ibn 'Umar: "The Messenger of Allah established the bond of brotherhood between Abū Bakr and 'Umar; and between Ṭalḥah and al Zubayr; and between 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and 'Uthmān."

Al Ḥākim and Ibn 'Abd al Barr reported with a *ḥasan isnād* from Abū al Sha'thā' on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: "The Prophet established brotherhood between al Zubayr and Ibn Mas'ūd."

Both Ibn al Qayyim and Ibn Kathīr are inclined to think that *Mu'akhāh* did not take place in Makkah. Ibn al Qayyim said:

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<sup>1</sup>Al Balādhurī. *Ansāb*. 1/280.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Durar*, 100.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 1/189.



It is said that he—i.e., the Prophet—established brotherhood among the *Muhājirūn* and that he took 'Alī as his own brother. There is no doubt about the *Mu'ākhāh* in Madīnah. Because of the general brotherhood of Islam and the brotherhood of kinship and of being from the same town, the *Muhājirūn* did not need to establish *Mu'ākhāh* among themselves, but *Mu'ākhāh* was needed between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Kathīr mentioned that some Muslim scholars denied this *Mu'ākhāh* for the same reason which Ibn Qayyim mentioned.<sup>5</sup> The opinion of Ibn Qayyim and Ibn Kathīr appears to be the more likely because the earliest specialized books of *Sirah* do not refer to any establishment of *Mu'ākhāh* in Makkah. Al Balādhurī is the only early source who mentions this report or information, and he introduces it with the word *qālū* (they said), without any *isnād*. This makes the report weak (*ḍa'īf*). The critics considered al Balādhurī himself to be *ḍa'īf*. Supposing that the establishment of *Mu'ākhāh* in Makkah did take place, it was confined to mutual help and advice between the two who had been made brothers, without there being any rights of inheritance.

## The Mu'ākhāh in Madīnah

The *Muhājirūn* who had come from Makkah to Madīnah faced various economic, social, and health problems. It is well known that the *Muhājirūn* had left their families and most of their wealth in Makkah. Their skill was in commerce in which the Quraysh were proficient, not in agriculture and crafts which formed the two important bases of the economy of Madīnah.

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<sup>4</sup>*Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/79. Ibn al Qayyim's teacher, Ibn Taymiyyah, had previously denied that the establishment of *Mu'ākhāh* among the *Muhājirūn*, and especially that between the Prophet and 'Alī, had taken place, because *Mu'ākhāh* was introduced in order to make the believers take care of one another and to make them love another. There is no sense in establishing brotherhood between the Prophet and any one of them, or between any two *Muhājirūn*. Ibn Taymiyyah, *Minhāj al Sunnah al Nabawiyyah* (The Way of the Prophet's Sunnah), 4/967.

Ibn Hajr said: "This is a rejection of a report (*naṣṣ*): it is based on *qiyās* (logical deduction from al Qur'ān al Karīm and the *Sunnah* as source of Islamic law), and it ignores the wisdom behind the establishment of *Mu'ākhāh*, because some of the *Muhājirūn* were stronger than others in terms of wealth, clan membership and physical strength. So the Prophet established brotherhood between the stronger and the weaker, so that each could help the other. This explains why the Prophet established *Mu'ākhāh* between himself and 'Alī, because he was the one who had looked after him since he was a child, before his call to prophethood, and had continued to do so. Likewise, the establishment of *Mu'ākhāh* between Ḥamzah and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, because Zayd was their client. Their brotherhood is a proven fact, and both were *Muhājirūn*." *Fath al Bārī*. 7/271.

<sup>5</sup>*Al Sirah al Nabawiyyah*, 2/324.

Because trade needs capital, the *Muhājirūn* were not able to make their own way easily in the new society. The emerging state was faced with the problem of finding ways for them to earn a living and obtain housing. The relationship of the *Muhājirūn* with the new society had only just begun. The *Muhājirūn* had left their families and friends in Makkah, and their links with them had been cut off completely. This created feelings of loneliness and longing for their homeland, Makkah, in addition to the difference between the climates of Makkah and Madīnah, which caused some of the *Muhājirūn* to suffer from fever. Their situation needed urgent attention, and the temporary solution involved going beyond the normal customs of hospitality. The *Anṣār* did not hesitate in offering help. They displayed examples of sacrifice and unselfishness which deserved to be preserved eternally in the Book of God: "But they (i.e., the *Anṣār*) give them preference over themselves, even though poverty was their (own lot) . . ." (*al Ḥaṣhr* 59:9).

The generosity of the *Anṣār* was so great that they suggested to the Prophet that they divide their palm trees between themselves and the *Muhājirūn*, because the palm trees were the source of income for many of them. The Prophet asked the *Anṣār* to manage the palm plantations and to keep them for themselves, but to share the dates with the *Muhājirūn*.<sup>6</sup> We do not know whether this sharing of dates was defined by a system such as halving the supply, or whether the purpose of it was to make the *Anṣār* support the *Muhājirūn* at that stage. It seems that the Prophet did not want the *Muhājirūn* to work in agriculture because he needed them to work in *da'wah* and *jihād*. Moreover, the *Muhājirūn* were not familiar with agricultural work,<sup>7</sup> as the Prophet explained. This meant that the agricultural produce which Madīnah needed could not be increased.

The *Anṣār* offered all their extra land to the Messenger and said to him: "If you want, take our houses." He thanked them, and had houses built for his companions on the land which the *Anṣār* had offered him and other land which was not owned by anybody.<sup>8</sup>

This generous treatment deeply moved the *Muhājirūn*, and they spoke openly about the generosity of the *Anṣār*. Anas narrated that the *Muhājirūn* said: "O Messenger of God! We have never come to a people like the (*Anṣār*)! If they have a little, they are the best people we have ever seen when it comes to giving support; and if they have much, they are the best in sacrificing it. They have given us everything we need, allowing us a share in their happiness to such an extent that we were afraid that they would take all the reward from God." The Messenger said: "No, as long as you commend them and pray for them."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/39.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 2/328.

<sup>8</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb al Ashrāf* 1/270.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Aṭhar*, 1/200; Ibn Kathīr, *al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah*, 2/320.

## The legislation of the system of *Mu'akkhāh*

Despite the sacrifices and generosity of the *Anṣār*, the need remained for setting up a system which would guarantee the *Muhājirūn* a decent living by law, especially since the pride and status of the *Muhājirūn* demanded that their situation be handled in such a way as not to make them feel that they were dependent upon the *Anṣār*. So the system of *Mu'akkhāh* was legislated. The reports differ only slightly with regard to the history of the legislation. They agree that it took place in the first year after the *hijrah*, but they differ as to whether it took place after or during the building of the Mosque in Madīnah.<sup>10</sup> Ibn 'Abd al Barr defines the date of the legislation as being five months after the *hijrah*.<sup>11</sup> Ibn Sa'd mentions, however, that the *Mu'akkhāh* took place after the *hijrah* and before the Battle of Badr,<sup>12</sup> without giving an exact date for its legislation.

The announcement of this legislation took place in the house of Anas ibn Mālīk, as the reports mentioned.<sup>13</sup> The *Mu'akkhāh* took place between two sides: the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*. The Prophet established *Mu'akkhāh* in pairs, one from each group.

The *Mu'akkhāh* included 90 men: 45 from the *Muhājirūn* and 45 from the *Anṣār*. It was said that no *Muhājir* was left without there being *Mu'akkhāh* established between him and an *Anṣari*.<sup>14</sup> The sources agree that the *Mu'akkhāh* which took place in Madīnah was between the *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*. But Ibn Sa'd mentions that there was a *Mu'akkhāh* among the *Muhājirūn* themselves which took place alongside the *Mu'akkhāh* between *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*; but he did not mention any other details which might explain the purpose of the *Mu'akkhāh* among the *Muhājirūn* themselves, and what (rights and duties) resulted from it. The other sources did not give much weight to this reference nor did they comment on it.<sup>15</sup>

There resulted from the legislation of the system of *Mu'akkhāh* special rights between the two who had been made brothers, such as mutual support. This support was not limited to any specific matters, rather it was open-ended to cover every kind of help to face the problem of life, whether it be material help or care, advice, mutual visitation, and love. The *Mu'akkhāh* also resulted in the two who had been made brothers being able to inherit from each other, without any regard for their relatives. This brought the relationship between

<sup>10</sup>Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Durar*, 96; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *'Uyūn al Āthār*, 1/200.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Durar*, 96.

<sup>12</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, part 1, section 2/9.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.; Ibn Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/79; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *'Uyūn al Āthār*, 1/200; Ibn Kathīr, *al Sirah al Nabawīyah*, 2/324.

<sup>14</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/270; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, part 1, section 2/9.

<sup>15</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, part 1, section 2/9.

the two who had been made brothers to a profound level which was higher than brotherhood based on kinship.<sup>16</sup>

The *Anṣār* were happy at the prospect of making sacrifices to help their brothers, the *Muhājirūn*. Reports portray the depth of their commitment to the system of *Mu'akhāh* and their dedication in putting it into effect. One unique example of this *Mu'akhāh* is that which took place between Sa'd ibn al Rabī' (*Anṣārī*) and 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf (*Muhājir*). Sa'd said to 'Abd al Raḥmān: "I have wealth which I will equally divide between you and me. I have two wives. See which of them you prefer and I will divorce her so that you can marry her when it becomes lawful to do so." 'Abd al Raḥmān said: "May Allah bless your wives and your wealth for you. Guide me to the market." When he came back, he brought clarified butter and cottage cheese, which were the profit he had made in trade. 'Abd al Raḥmān said: "The Messenger of God saw traces of yellow perfume on me and asked: 'What is the matter?' I said: 'I have married a woman of the *Anṣār*.' He said: 'Give a wedding feast, even with a sheep.'"<sup>17</sup>

No doubt, one stands amazed before this wonderful picture of strong brotherhood and mutual selflessness, the like of which we have never seen in the history of other nations.

Ibn 'Awf's attitude in his pride, noble character and not exploiting his brother is no less wonderful than the selflessness of Ibn al Rabī'. Ibn 'Awf was a skilled merchant, and could make his own way in his new life. After a period he was able to marry and to pay a dowry of a nugget of gold.<sup>18</sup> Then he was blessed in his work and his wealth increased until he became one of the richest Muslims, refusing everything except to be the owner of "the upper hand" which gives and does not take.

### The annulment of inheritance among those who were made brothers

Doubtless, inheritance between the two brothers who had been made brothers-in-faith was a solution to the extraordinary circumstances in which the emerging state found itself. When the *Muhājirūn* had become accustomed to life in Madīnah, learned how to earn a living there, and had received some of the booty from Badr which was sufficient for them, the system of inheritance returned to its natural position based on kinship ties, which was

<sup>16</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/119, 6/55-6, 8/190-1; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1960; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, part 1, section 2/9; Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/270; Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Durar*, 96; Ibn Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/79; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 1/200.

<sup>17</sup>Al Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 6/137.

<sup>18</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/39.

in keeping with human nature. Inheritance between the two who had been made brothers was cancelled<sup>19</sup> by the text of the Qur'ān: "...but kindred by blood have prior rights against each other in the book of God..." (*al Anfāl* 8:75).<sup>20</sup>

This verse abrogated inheritance based on the system of *Mu'ākhāh*. Ibn 'Abbās was of the opinion that the verse: "To (benefit) every one, we have appointed shares and heirs (*mawālī*)...to those also, to whom your right hand was pledged..." (*Al Nisā'* 4:23) also abrogated inheritance based on *Mu'ākhāh*. In his opinion, the *mawālī* in the verse refers to those who inherited according to blood relationship, and "those to whom your right hand was pledged" are the *Muhājirūn* who inherited according to *Mu'ākhāh*. Ibn 'Abbās mentions that only inheritance was cancelled from the system of *Mu'ākhāh*, and that assistance, support, and advice remained a moral responsibility. It was possible for the two linked by the bond of brotherhood to bequeath part of their inheritance to each other<sup>21</sup> but without this bequest they could not inherit. Imām al Nawawī meant the same when he said: "As for inheritance, it is better for the two who have been made brothers not to inherit from each other. This is the opinion of the majority of Muslim scholars. But as for *Mu'ākhāh* in Islam, and making an alliance based on obeying Allah, helping each other in religious matters, cooperation in righteousness and piety and establishing the Truth—this remains valid and is not abrogated."<sup>22</sup> Ibn Sa'd is the only one who transmitted a report with the *isnād* going back to 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr. This report mentions the cancellation of inheritance between the two who have been made brothers. It considers the verse, "but kindred by blood have prior rights against each other..." (*Al Anfāl* 8:75), as having been revealed after the Battle of Uhud,<sup>23</sup> which took place in Shawwāl in the year 3 AH.

It is strange that Ibn Hajar<sup>24</sup> mentioned the arrangement of *Mu'ākhāh* between al Ḥatāt al Tamīmī and Mu'āwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān, and that when al Ḥatāt died during Mu'āwiyah's caliphate Mu'āwiyah was his heir based on the brotherhood bond. Ibn Hajar only comments on this story by expressing astonishment because al Ḥatāt had many sons as heirs.<sup>25</sup> He did not refer to

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, part 1, section 2/9; Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/270, 271; Ibn Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/79; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Āḥār*, 1/200.

<sup>20</sup>See also the *tafsīr* of this verse in al Shawkānī, *Fath al Qadīr*, 2/330-1. For the *Sabab al Nuzūl* (Occasion of Revelation) of this verse, see: Al Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 2/19; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 7/28 (He said that the men of this ḥadīth were *ṣaḥīḥ*).

<sup>21</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/119, 6/55-6, 8/190-1.

<sup>22</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1960, *al Ḥāshiyah*.

<sup>23</sup>Al Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al Nuqūl fī Asbāb al Nuzūl* (The Best Reports About the Occasions for Revelation), 260, transmitted from Ibn Sa'd; Al Shawkānī, *Fath al Qadīr*, 2/330-1. (He said: "It was reported by Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Abū Ḥatīm, Al Ḥakīm—who proved that it was *ṣaḥīḥ*—and Ibn Mardawayh.")

<sup>24</sup>Ibn Hajar transmitted this from Ibn 'Abd al Barr, who in turn relied on Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and Ibn Kalbī.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Al Isābah*, section 2, p. 30.

the cancellation of inheritance based on *Mu'akhāh*, which goes back to the second year of the *hijrah*. This report can only be authentic if al Ḥatāt had bequeathed some part of his inheritance to Mu'āwiyah, not all of it.

### The continuation of *Mu'akhāh* without inheritance

It seems that the Prophet continued to establish *Mu'akhāh* among his Companions, involving supporting, cooperating and counseling the other, but not any rights of inheritance. Likewise, there are reports which tell us that the Prophet established *Mu'akhāh* between Abū al Dardā' and Salmān al Fārsī,<sup>26</sup> even though Salmān became a Muslim between the Battles of Uḥud and al Khandaq. This caused al Wāqidi and al Balādhurī to discount such reports.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Ibn Kathīr rejected the report of the *Mu'akhāh* between Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib and Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, because Ja'far came to Madīnah at the time of the Conquest of Khaybar at the beginning of 7 AH.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, the report of *Mu'akhāh* between al Ḥatāt and Mu'āwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān has been discounted because Mu'āwiyah became a Muslim after the liberation of Makkah in 8 AH. If we consider that *Mu'akhāh* was continued, but not involving the right of inheritance which was cancelled after the battle of Badr, there is no reason for this objection and denial of these reports on the part of the historians.

If we accept that *Mu'akhāh* without inheritance took place before and after the legislation of *Mu'akhāh* between the *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*, this could explain the confusion in which Ibn Ishāq found himself when he included in the list of those who were made brothers, the report which mentioned the *Mu'akhāh* between the Prophet and 'Alī, and between Ḥamzah and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, all of whom were Muhājirun, while the rest of the names in his list make it obvious that the *Mu'akhāh* was between a *Muhājir* and an *Anṣārī*.<sup>29</sup> Ibn Kathīr commented on the *Mu'akhāh* between the Prophet and 'Alī, and between Ḥamzah and Zayd, by saying that there was no sense in this *Mu'akhāh* unless the Prophet did not want to entrust the care of 'Alī to anybody else, because he was among those whom the Prophet supported and cared for since he was child. Likewise, the *Mu'akhāh* between Ḥamzah and Zayd does not make sense unless Ḥamzah had committed himself to taking care of their client Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, and the Prophet had established *Mu'akhāh* for this reason.

The reason which Ibn Kathīr suggested is not acceptable because other sources mention *Mu'akhāh* between Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib and Kulthūm ibn al Hadam or somebody else, and *Mu'akhāh* between Zayd ibn Ḥārithah and Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/88, 3/47.

<sup>27</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/271.

<sup>28</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Sirah al Nabawiyyah*, 2/326.

<sup>29</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 4/222.

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Hishām *al Sirah* 1/504-7.

The *Mu'ākhāh* between the Prophet and 'Alī required rights of inheritance while nobody can inherit from the Prophet, according to what had been reported in the *ḥadīth*. Also, al Balādhurī mentioned *Mu'ākhāh* between 'Alī and Sahl ibn Ḥanīf.<sup>31</sup> Al Balādhurī also mentioned that *Mu'ākhāh* between the Prophet and 'Alī, and between Ḥamzah and Zayd, took place in Makkah.<sup>32</sup>

From this one may conclude that this *Mu'ākhāh* between the Prophet and 'Alī, and between Ḥamzah and Zayd—if it really happened—was a *Mu'ākhāh* which was based on mutual support and care, without any rights of inheritance, and which happened at a different time from the announcement of the system of *Mu'ākhāh* in the house of Anas ibn Mālīk.<sup>33</sup>

In conclusion, the *Mu'ākhāh* among believers which was legislated remains unabrogated, apart from the rights of inheritance, which have been abrogated. The believers in every age are permitted to establish *Mu'ākhāh* among themselves, on a basis of support, mutual care, and advice, and from this *Mu'ākhāh* there could result some rights which are more specific than the rights of general *Mu'ākhāh* among believers.

The response of the Muslims to the commands of God becomes apparent when they shed their social and local national relationships when this is necessary in the interests of the basic beliefs and principles of Islam.

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<sup>31</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/270.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid. There is also a report of the *Mu'ākhāh* between Ḥamzah and Zayd in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad, 1/230.

## *Chapter VII*





## The Bonds of Faith Are the Bases of the Links Between Men

Undoubtedly, the ties which bring people together are of different sorts. People are grouped according to tribes, nations, countries and nationalities. Different nationalities may gather together under one banner for the purpose of religion or common interests. The bond of kinship or being descended from a common ancestor is considered to be one of the bonds which formed the basis of the earliest human societies. When Islam appeared, people were grouped according to tribes, as in the Arabian Peninsula and other places; or according to nationalities, as in Persia; or as religious groups, as in the Byzantine Empire. Islam made the bond of faith the most important basis for binding people together in harmony, although it permitted and even encouraged, other bonds such as family ties as long as they did not conflict with this principle. On this basis, Islam established laws dealing with social security and inheritance, and such matters as the relationship with one's neighbors and the rights of neighbors resulting therefrom. Islamic law also governed the relationship between the members of the clan and the resulting cooperation in paying ransoms, and the relationship between the members of a city which gives them priority over others in receiving the *zakāh* of the rich people of the city. But these relationships should not conflict with the bonds of faith. If they do violate or damage the bonds of faith, they are no longer valid. The basis of mutualities in Islam is faith, the interests which could separate a man from his father, son, wife or clan. Hence, Abū 'Ubaydah fought his father who was an idolater, and killed him when he met him in battle at Badr. Abū 'Ubaydah saw the body of his disbelieving father being dragged away to be thrown into the well of al Qabil at Badr, and it did not disturb him.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Ishāq said: "Ibn Wahb, a confederate of Banū 'Abd al Dār told me that when the Prophet received the prisoners of war (from Badr), he divided them among his companions and said: 'Treat them well.' Abū 'Azīz ibn 'Umayr' ibn Hāshim, the full brother of Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr was among the prisoners. Abū 'Azīz said: 'My brother Muṣ'ab passed me, and said to the *Anṣārī* who had captured me: 'Don't release him. His mother is rich; perhaps she will pay you a ransom for him.'"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/75.

<sup>2</sup>See Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 1/106-7.

Ibn Hishām said: This Abū 'Azīz was the flag-bearer for the *Mushrikūn* after al Nadr ibn al Ḥārith had been killed. When his brother (Muṣ'ab) spoke thus to Abū al Yusr, who had captured him, Abū 'Azīz said to him: "O my brother, is this what you recommend for me?" Muṣ'ab said to him: "He (Abū al Yusr) is my brother, not you."

Al Tirmidhī<sup>3</sup> narrated with an *isnād* which he said was *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*: Ibn Abū 'Umar told us that Sufyān informed him from 'Amr ibn Dīnār who had heard Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh say: "We were on a campaign (*ghazwah*) Sufyān said: "They think it was the *ghazwah* against Banū al Muṣṭaliq") when one of the *Muhājirūn* pushed one of the *Anṣār*. . . 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl heard about this and said: "Have things gone so far? By Allah, when we return to Madīnah, the stronger will throw out the weaker." His son 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh said to him: "By Allah, you will not go back until you admit that you are the weaker and the Messenger of Allah is the stronger," and his father did so.

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy used to treat his father well and respect him,<sup>4</sup> but in his opinion, the interests of faith had priority. So when he saw his father insulting the Muslims, he made an offer to the Prophet to kill his father and bring his head to him.<sup>5</sup>

The Qur'ān explains the priority of faith in the story of Nūḥ (peace be on him) and his son:

And Nūḥ called upon his Lord, and said: "O my Lord! surely my son is of my family! And Your promise is true, and You are the most just of Judges!" He said: "O Nūḥ! He is not of your family: for his conduct is unrighteous. So ask not of Me that of which you have no knowledge! I give you counsel, lest you act like the ignorant!" (*Hūd* 11:45-6)

God explained that, although Nūḥ's son was part of his family according to blood-relationships, he was not really part of his family because he abandoned the truth, and neither believed in God nor followed His Prophet. The Qur'ān gave the reason for the severing of the bonds between Nūḥ and his son when it said: "His conduct is not righteous." If a relationship as close as this could be demolished when it conflicted with faith, then it is more likely that ties of blood, race, nation, and color will be demolished when they conflict with the interests of faith.

Islam has confined brotherhood and close friendship to the believers only. Allah said: "The believers are but a single brotherhood . . ." (*al Ḥujurāt* 49:10), and forbade close friendship between believers and unbelievers, whether they

<sup>3</sup>al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5/90, *Kitāb al Tafsīr*.

<sup>4</sup>al Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 2/520.

<sup>5</sup>al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 9/318.

be *Mushrikūn*, Jews or Christians, even if they were their fathers, brothers or sons, and that any believers who did so were doing wrong. This proved that for a believer to take an unbeliever as a close friend is a grave sin.

O you who believe, take not for protectors your fathers and brothers if they love infidelity above faith; if any of you do so, they do wrong (*Al Tawbah* 9:23).

The Qur'ān put all of the Muslim's worldly interests and relationships on one side of the scale, and put his love for God, His Messenger and struggle for the sake of the faith on the other. It has warned the believers against preferring their social interests and relationships above the interests of faith. God has said:

Say: If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, or your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, or the dwellings in which you delight — are dearer to you than God, or His apostle, or striving in His cause; Then wait until God brings about His decision: and God guides not the rebellious (*Al Tawbah* 9:24).

These verses of *Sūrat al Tawbah* were revealed as encouragement for the *hijrah* to Madīnah in order to defend the Islamic state which had emerged there. The noble companions passed the test of faith, in abandoning family, wealth and property which were dear to them, and migrated for the sake of Allah and His Messenger and struggle in His cause.

Madīnan society, then, was established by Islam. It was a society based on faith and committed to Islam, which recognized friendship and protection as coming from God only, His Messenger and the believers. This is the most noble kind of bond, because it is derived from the unity of faith, thought, and spirit. The believers are friends, and protectors of one another. Empathy for one another is in their blood. The meanest of them shall run with their trusts united as a single fist. (Abū Dāwūd, Nasā'ī, Ibn Mājah) This society is open to whoever wants to join it, regardless of his color or race, on condition that he sheds his unnatural characteristics and adopts the Islamic personality so that he can enjoy the same rights as all other Muslims.



## *Chapter VIII*



## Love Is the Foundation of Madīnan Society

Islam established Madīnan society on the basis of love and mutual support, as is mentioned in the *ḥadīth*: “The believers, in their love, mutual kindness, and close ties, are like one body; when any part complains, the whole body responds to it with wakefulness and fever.”<sup>1</sup> Affection, compassion and keeping in touch form the basis of the relationship between the members of the Muslim society, be they old or young, rich or poor, rulers or subjects.

The teachings of Islam support the concept of spreading love in the society, as is mentioned in the *ḥadīth*: “None of you truly believes until he wishes (loves) for his brother what he wishes (loves) for himself”<sup>2</sup> (al Bukhārī and Muslim). The believers may live in a society free from selfishness and exploitation, where they could help each other to face the problems of life, so that whosoever “helps his brother, God will help him”<sup>3</sup> (al Tirmidhī and Imām Aḥmad). “Allah will help his servant as long as His servant helps his brother” (al Tirmidhī and Abū Dāwūd).<sup>4</sup>

The relationships among believers rest on mutual respect. The rich man does not look down on the poor, nor the ruler on the subject, nor the strong on the weak. “It is evil enough for a man to humiliate his Muslim brother,” said the noble Prophet (Muslim).<sup>5</sup>

The relationship between a Muslim and his brother could be weakened or broken at the moment of anger, but this should not last for more than three days: “It is not lawful for a Muslim to forsake his brother beyond three days” (al Bukhārī and Muslim).<sup>6</sup>

The foundations of love are supported by the giving of presents and charitable gifts. “Give gifts to one another and love one another” (*Ḥadīth*). The rich give money for the service of society and fill the gaps which could appear in its economic structure as a result of unequal distribution of wealth. The rich person pays out the *zakāh* due on his wealth as an obligation to Allah, and supports the needy with his wealth. On the other hand, the poor do not resent the rich for any increase in their wealth, because this increase will come back to them in goodness and support. Anas ibn Mālīk narrated:

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<sup>1</sup>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.

<sup>2</sup>Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī, Muslim.

<sup>3</sup>Al Tirmidhī, Imām Aḥmad.

<sup>4</sup>Al Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd.

<sup>5</sup>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.

<sup>6</sup>Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī, Muslim.

<sup>7</sup>Abū Ya‘lā, Ibn ‘Asākir



Out of all the *Anṣār* living in Madīnah, Abū Ṭalḥah had the largest number of date palms, and the most beloved of his property to him was Bayruḥā' garden, which stood opposite the Mosque of the Prophet. God's Apostle used to enter it and drink of its water.

When the verse, "By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend of that which you love," (*Āl 'Imrān* 3:92) was revealed, Abū Ṭalḥah got up and said: "O Allah's apostle, Allah says: 'By no means shall you attain righteousness unless you spend of that which you love,' and the most beloved of my property to me is the Bayruḥā' garden, so I give it as a charitable gift in God's cause and hope to receive good out of it and to have it stored for me by Allah. So, O Messenger of God, dispose of it in the way Allah orders you." The Prophet said: "That is a fruitful property! I have heard what you have said and I think that you should distribute it among your relatives." "I shall do so, O Messenger of Allah," said Abū Ṭalḥah and he divided the property among his relatives and his cousins.<sup>a</sup>

The rich *Ṣaḥābah* realized that they were responsible for the wealth which they had acquired. If they found a need which the state was unable to meet, or had not noticed, they sacrificed their wealth in order to fill it. It is an historical fact that 'Uthmān gave as *ṣadaqah* a huge caravan—1,000 camels bearing wheat, oil and raisins—to the poor Muslims, when an economic crisis hit Madīnah during the caliphate of Abū Bakr al Ṣiddīq, and the merchants had offered him five times its original price as profit. 'Uthmān said: "Who offered it to you when no one came to you before us, and we are the merchants of Madīnah?" He said: "God has given me ten times its worth," and he shared it among the poor Muslims.

There are many similar stories in the biographies of the Muslims who were our pious and righteous ancestors. For this reason the class mentality, and hence, the class conflict, did not appear. The people were not grouped according to their economic interests to fight those above and below them. The Islamic society did not witness any conflict between the classes and does not recognize any superiority of the rich over the poor, nor of the ruler over the subject. From the outset, it did not recognize any differences between men based on their color, race, or origin. The Muslims are as equal as the teeth of a comb. Nobody is better than anyone else except in the consciousness of God. The Islamic society is open to all and the opportunities for development and earning a living are equal for all its members. There are no social differences: a poor man was never prevented from marrying a rich woman, nor was a weak man ever prevented from rising to the highest post in the nation or the

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<sup>a</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* 6/31 Kitāb al Tafsīr.

highest rank in the leadership of the society. There is no class which could prevent any of its members from rising further. If the Islamic society had been destined to continue its scientific and civilizing progress, and to lead humanity today, the advantages of Islam for building a strong society based on mutual love and support, and not on hatred and conflict which only result in destruction, would have become clear.

If that was the attitude of the rich in Madīnan society, then what was the attitude of the weak and the poor?



## *Chapter IX*



## The Rich and Poor Strive Together on Equal Terms

In the new Islamic society, the rich and the poor began striving together on equal terms. The Islamic faith prevented the emergence of class conflict in this society, establishing brotherhood between the rich and the poor, and creating unity and internal cohesion to meet the requirements of *Jihād*. What follows is a description of the Madīnan society which explains how a group of the poorest Muslims lived at the time of the Prophet.

God has said:

(Charity is) for those in need, who, in God's cause are restricted (from travel), and cannot move about in the land, seeking (for trade or work): the ignorant man thinks, because of their modesty, that they are free from want. Thou shalt know them by their (unfailing) mark: they beg not importunately from all and sundry. And whatever of good you give, be assured God knows it well (*Al Baqarah* 2:273).

In *al Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn Sa'd<sup>1</sup> mentioned the report with an *isnād* going back to Ka'b al Qaraẓī which said that this verse was revealed concerning *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. Al Ṭabarī<sup>2</sup> mentioned in his *Tafsīr*, on the authority of Mujāhid and al Siddī that it was revealed concerning the poor among the *Muhājirūn*.

In what follows, I will give a description of the life of the poor in the first Islamic society: they are the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.

### The poor *Muhājirūn*

In the wake of the *hijrah* of the Muslims from Makkah to Madīnah, there emerged the problem of finding a livelihood for those *Muhājirūn* who had left their houses, wealth, and property in Makkah, escaping from the oppression of the idolaters for the sake of their religion.

No doubt, some of the *Muhājirūn* could not work when they first came to Madīnah because of the predominantly agricultural nature of its economy.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/255.

<sup>2</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 5/291. (Edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr).

The *Muhājirūn* did not have any expertise in agriculture, because Makkah was a commercial society. They did not own any agricultural land in Madīnah, and they did not have capital because they had left their wealth in Makkah. The *Anṣār* did everything they could to help the *Muhājirūn*, but some of the latter still needed shelter.

The flood of *Muhājirūn* to the city continued, especially before the battle of the Ditch, when many of them settled in Madīnah. Many delegations also used to come to Madinah, among whom were those who did not know anybody in the city. All these strangers needed permanent or temporary shelter.

No doubt the Prophet thought of finding shelter for the poor residents and for the delegations who came to him from time to time.

### *Al Ṣuffah*

The opportunity came when the direction for prayer (*qiblah*) was changed from Bayt al Maqdis (Jerusalem) to the Ka'bah in Makkah. This happened sixteen months after the *hijrah* of the Prophet to Madīnah.<sup>3</sup> As a result of this geographical change, the wall of the first *Qiblah* became the back wall of the Prophet's Mosque. The Prophet ordered a ceiling to be built over it, and it was then called *al Ṣuffah* (meaning a 'raised platform or bench') or *al Zillah* ('the shade'),<sup>4</sup> but it was left open on three sides.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Jubayr mentions in *al Riḥlah* (The Journey) that *al Ṣuffah* is a house at the end of *qubā'*, where *Ahl al Ṣuffah* lived. Al Samhūdī explained that those who were called *Ahl al Ṣuffah* later moved into that house, so the house became known by that name, that is, the place which Ibn Jubayr identified as *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. The *Ṣuffah* did not take their name from it, because their name came from the *Ṣuffah* in the Prophet's Mosque in Madīnah.

We do not know how many people the *Ṣuffah* could accommodate, but it appears that it could accommodate a large number, because the Prophet used it for a wedding feast which was attended by 300 people, although

<sup>3</sup>Khalīfah (*al Ta'rikh*, 1/23) transmitted other reports which state that the *Ṣuffah* was established after 10, 17, or 19 months, or after two years. *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (*Kitāb al Ṣalāh: Bāb al Tawajjuh Nahw al qiblah*, 1/104), states that this happened after 16 or 17 months.

<sup>4</sup>Al Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, 1/321. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al Buldān* (Geographical Index). *Zillah* is found in *Lisān al Arab* by Ibn Manẓūr under *ṣaffafa*. It is noticeable that the use of the word '*Ṣuffah*' is not confined to the *Ṣuffah* in the Prophet's Mosque, but had been used since an early period to describe any covered area. There is a '*Ṣuffah al Nisā'*' (a *ṣuffah* for women) in the Prophet's Mosque in Madīnah (al Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 8/77; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 2/448); and *Ṣuffat Zamzam* in Makkah (al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/44; al Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 3/135). The shaded area in people's houses is also called *ṣuffah* (al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/215).

<sup>5</sup>Rekendorf, *Dā'irāt al Ma'ārif al Islāmiyyah* (Encyclopedia of Islam), p. 105.

some of them sat in one of the rooms adjacent to the Mosque belonging to the Prophet's wives.<sup>6</sup>

### The occupants of the *Ṣuffah*

The *Muhājirūn* were the first people to live in *Ṣuffah*. It was thus linked with them and called *Ṣuffat al Muhājirīn*.<sup>7</sup> Visitors attached to delegations which came to the Prophet to declare their Islam and obedience to him also used to stay there.<sup>8</sup> If a man came to the Prophet and had a contact (*ʿarif*) in Madīnah, he would stay with him; otherwise, he would stay with *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.<sup>9</sup> Abū Hurayrah was a liaison to both permanent residents of *al Ṣuffah* and to those who came to stay for a short while. Whenever the Prophet wanted to call them, he authorized Abū Hurayrah to do so, because he knew them and their status in *ʿibādah* and *jihād*.<sup>10</sup> Besides the *Muhājirūn* and visitors from outside the city, some of the *Anṣār* came to live in *al Ṣuffah* because they wanted to live a life of ascetism (*zuhd*) and poverty, despite the fact that they could afford not to do so, and had houses in Madīnah. Among them were: Ka'b ibn Mālik al Anṣārī, Ḥanzalah ibn Abū 'Āmir al Anṣārī (the one who was given *ghusl* by the angels after he was martyred), Ḥārithah ibn al Nu'mān al Anṣārī and others.<sup>11</sup>

Because the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* were from a mixture of tribes, the Prophet called them *al Awfāq* (the mixed crowds). Another reason given for this is that each of them possessed a leather bag (*wafdah*), like a small quiver, in which he kept his food, but the first explanation is more likely.<sup>12</sup>

### The numbers and names of the occupants of the *Ṣuffah*.

Their numbers varied at different times. There were more when the delegations came to Madīnah, and less when the strangers left. But the usual number

<sup>6</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ. Kitāb al Nikāḥ*, Hadīth no. 94.

<sup>7</sup>Abū Dā'ūd, *al Sunan, Kitāb al Ḥurūf*, 2/321.

<sup>8</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ: Kitāb al Ṣalāh, Bāb Nawm al Rijāl fī al Masājīd*; Ibn Mājah, *Al Sunan: Kitāb al Ṣayd, Bāb al Ḍabb*.

<sup>9</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 3/487; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/33a/374; Al Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, 1/323. *ʿArif* means a chief, or the one in charge of a tribe or group. (*Lisān al 'Arab* under *'arafa*).

<sup>10</sup>Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/376.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Abū Ḥātim, 3/6/1000. See also, Sāmī Makkī al 'Ānī, *Diwān Ka'b ibn Mālik al Anṣārī*, 77, where he denies any connection between them, because Ka'b was an *Anṣārī* and the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* were poor *Muhājirūn*. But it is probable that he preferred a life of poverty and *zuhd*, and lived with them despite having a house of his own in Madīnah. Ibn Nu'aym mentions the names of some of the *Anṣār* who were among the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* in *al Ḥilyah* (1/355, 356).

<sup>12</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 6/391; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/339; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al 'Arab*, (*wafada*).



of permanent residents was about 70 men.<sup>13</sup> But their numbers could increase greatly, so that Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah alone sometimes used to be host to 80 men, apart from the others who were guests of other companions of the Prophet.<sup>14</sup>

Al Samhūdī mentioned that Abū Nu'aym listed their names in *al Hilyah*, and that they came to more than one hundred.<sup>15</sup>

However, the number of people named by Abū Nu'aym is only 52, 5 of whom he said were not from *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. Abū Nu'aym is the only scholar who gives us a long list of the famous names among the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. He transmitted this from an earlier source, the name of which he did not mention. It was probably from the book of Abū 'Abd al Rahmān al Salamī (d. 412 AH) who wrote about the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.<sup>16</sup>

Here follows a list of the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* as mentioned by Abū Nu'aym to which are added names mentioned by the other sources:

- (1) Abū Hurayrah (as he said that he was one of them).<sup>17</sup>
- (2) Abū Dharr al Ghifārī (as he said that he was one of them).<sup>18</sup>
- (3) Wāthilah ibn Asqa'.<sup>19</sup>
- (4) Qays ibn Ṭahfah al Ghifārī (as he said that he was one of them).<sup>20</sup>
- (5) Ka'b ibn Mālik al Anṣārī.<sup>21</sup>
- (6) Sa'id ibn 'Āmir ibn Ḥadhīm al Jumahī.
- (7) Salmān al Fārsī.
- (8) Asmā' ibn Hārithah ibn Sa'id al Aslamī.
- (9) Ḥanḏalah ibn Abū 'Āmir al Anṣārī (the one given *ghusl* by the Angels).
- (10) Hāzim ibn Ḥarmalah.
- (11) Hārithah ibn Nu'mān al Anṣārī al Najjārī.
- (12) Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd Abū Surayḥah al Anṣārī.
- (13) Ḥudhayfah ibn Yamān (he was one of the *Muhājirūn*, but he allied himself to the Anṣār, so he is counted as one of them).
- (14) Jāriyah ibn Jamīl ibn Shabah ibn Qirṭ.
- (15) Ju'āyl ibn Surāqah al Ḍumarī.
- (16) Jurhad ibn Khuwaylid (or ibn Rāzah) al Aslamī.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Abū Nu'aym, *al Hilyah*, 1/339, 341.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 1/341.

<sup>15</sup>Al Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, 1/321.

<sup>16</sup>Hajjī Khalifah, *Kashf al Zunūn* (Dispelling Confusion), 1/286; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣābah*, 1/201 (which he calls *Aṣḥāb al Ṣuffah*), 6/550.

<sup>17</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Saḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Buyū'*, chapter 1: Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/256; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 2/317; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣābah*, Biography no. 5505.

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 2/317; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/256.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 2/317.

<sup>20</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/256; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 2/317; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣābah*, Biography no. 4300.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Abū Hātim, *al Jarḥ wa al Ta'dīl*, 3/2/1600.

<sup>22</sup>Abū Dawūd, *al Sunan*, *Kitāb al Ḥammām*, *Bāb al Nahī 'an al Tā'arrī*, 1/363; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/478.

- (17) Rafā'ah Abū Lubābah al Anṣārī (it is said that his name was Bashīr ibn 'Abd al Mundhir from Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf).
- (18) 'Abd Allah Dhū al Bijādayn.
- (19) Dukayn ibn Sa'īd al Mazanī (or al Khath'amī).<sup>23</sup>
- (20) Khubayb ibn Yāsāf ibn 'Anabah.
- (21) Kharīm ibn Aws al Ṭā'ī.
- (22) Kharīm ibn Fātik al Asadī.
- (23) Khunays ibn Ḥadhāfah al Sahamī.
- (24) Khabbab ibn al Art.
- (25) Al Ḥakam ibn 'Umayr al Thamālī.
- (26) Ḥarmalah ibn Ayās (it is said that he was Ḥarmalah ibn 'Abd Allāh al 'Anbarī).
- (27) Zayd ibn al Khattāb.
- (28) 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd.
- (29) Al Ṭafāwī al Dawsī.
- (30) Ṭalḥah ibn 'Amr al Naḍrī.
- (31) Ṣafwān ibn Bayḍā' al Fahrī.
- (32) Ṣuhayb ibn Sanan al Rūmī.
- (33) Shaddād ibn Usayd.
- (34) Shaqrān (the *mawlā* of the Prophet).
- (35) Al Sā'ib ibn Khalād.
- (36) Sālim ibn 'Umayr from al Aws, of Banū Tha'labah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Awf.
- (37) Sālim ibn 'Ubayd al Ashja'ī.
- (39) Safinah (the *mawla* of the Prophet).
- (40) Sālim (*mawlā* Abū Ḥudhayfah).
- (41) Abū Fazīn.
- (42) Al Agharr al Mazanī.
- (43) Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ.
- (44) Al Barrā' ibn Mālik al Anṣārī.
- (45) Thawbān (the *mawlā* of the Prophet).
- (46) Thābit ibn Wadī'ah al Anṣārī.
- (47) Thaḳīf ibn 'Amr ibn Shamīṭ al Asadī.
- (48) Sa'd ibn Mālik Abū Sa'īd al Khudārī.
- (49) Al 'Arbad ibn Sāriyah.<sup>24</sup>
- (50) Ghurfah al Azadī.<sup>25</sup>
- (51) 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Qirṭ.<sup>26</sup>
- (52) 'Abbād ibn Khālīd al Ghifārī.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Abū Nu'aym said: "I do not know any *ṣaḥīḥ* reports of his living in the *Ṣuffah*." But he did not deny that he belonged to them. *al Ḥilyah*, 1/365.

<sup>24</sup>*Al Sirāḥ*, ḥadīth no. 79; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Isābah*, biography no. 5505.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., biography no. 6913.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., biography no. 5190.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., biography no. 4463.

Abū Nu'aym listed men whose names used to be listed among *Ahl al Ṣuffah*, but said that they were not among them.<sup>28</sup>

(1) Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqās.

Those who include him in the list of *Ahl al Ṣuffah* do so on the basis of his saying that the verse, "Send not away those who call on their Lord morning and evening, seeking His face. . ." (*Al An'am* 6:52) was revealed concerning them. But this verse was revealed in Makkah, according to the commentary of Ibn Kathīr, and was not revealed concerning *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.

(2) Ḥabīb ibn Zayd ibn 'Āṣim al Anṣārī al Najjārī.

He was one of the people of *al 'Aqabah*, which through an error was written as *al Ṣuffah*.

(3) Abū Ayyūb al Anṣārī.

He is also from the people of *al 'Aqabah*.

(4) Ḥajjāj ibn 'Amr al Māzinī al Anṣārī.

(5) Thābit ibn al Ḍaḥḥāk al Anṣārī.

### Devotion to knowledge, *ʿibādah* and *jihād* of the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*

The *Ahl al Ṣuffah* devoted themselves to knowledge and remained in the Mosque for worship. They were accustomed to poverty and ascetism. In their seclusion they used to pray, read the Qur'ān, study its verses together, and engage themselves in the remembrance of God. Some of them learnt how to write, and one of them even gave his bow as a gift to 'Ubādah ibn al Ṣāmit, because he taught them the Qur'ān and how to write it.<sup>29</sup> Some of them became famous for their knowledge and for memorizing the sayings of the Prophet, such as Abū Ḥurayrah, who is known for transmitting many ḥadīth, and Hudhayfah, who was an authority on relating ḥadīth relating to *Fitan*.

But the devotion of *Ahl al Ṣuffah* to knowledge and worship did not isolate them from participating in the life of the society and in *Jihād*. Some of them were martyrs at Badr, such as Ṣafwān ibn Baydā, Zayd ibn al Khaṭṭāb, Kharīm ibn Fātik al Asadī, Khubayb ibn Yasāf, Sālim ibn 'Umayr, and Ḥārithah ibn al Nu'mān al Anṣārī.<sup>30</sup> Some of them were martyred at Uḥud, such as

<sup>28</sup>Regarding these men, see Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/3223, 367, 363, 364, 371, 356, (in that order).

<sup>29</sup>Abū Dāwūd *al Sunan*, 2/237; Ibn Mājah, *al Sunan*, 2/730.

<sup>30</sup>Regarding these men, see: *al Ḥilyah*, 1/323, 367, 363, 364, 371, 356 (in that order).

Ḥanzalah al Ghasīl.<sup>31</sup> Some of them witnessed al Ḥudaybiyah, such as Jurhad ibn Khuwaylid and Abū Surayḥah al Ghifārī.<sup>32</sup> Some of them were martyred at Khaybar, such as Thaqīf ibn 'Amr.<sup>33</sup> Some of them were martyred at Tabūk, such as 'Abd Allah Dhu al Bijādayn.<sup>34</sup> Some of them were martyred at al Yamāmah, such as Sālim, the *mawlā* of Abū Ḥudhayfah, and Zayd ibn al Khaṭṭāb.<sup>35</sup> In this way, they spent their nights in worship and their days waging campaigns.

### Clothing of the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*

The *Ahl al Ṣuffah* did not have enough clothes to protect themselves from the cold or to cover themselves completely. They did not have cloaks.<sup>36</sup> None of them had a complete set of clothes.<sup>37</sup> Either they had to tie a garment or cloak at their necks,<sup>38</sup> or they would have to wrap themselves in loincloths or other garments.<sup>39</sup> Some of them had clothes which covered them to mid-calf, and others had clothes which did not reach their knees. The sources mention that they used to wear the *ḥawṭikiyyah*,<sup>40</sup> which would cover their heads.<sup>41</sup>

*Al Khanaf* is a cloak like those from Yemen, which is made from a rough, poor quality linen.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes they were ashamed to appear in these clothes, because they did not cover them properly.<sup>43</sup> Their clothes became dirty quickly, because the *Ṣuffah* was open to the wind and dust. Even their sweat made their skin look dirty and dusty.<sup>44</sup>

### Food of the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*

Their food was mostly dates. The Prophet gave a measure of dates to each two men every day. They complained about eating dates, saying it hurt their

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 1/375.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 1/353, 355.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 1/352.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 1/365.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 1/367, 370.

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/255; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/377; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *'Uyūn al Aḥbar*, 2/217.

<sup>37</sup>Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/341.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 1/377.

<sup>39</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/114; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/255.

<sup>40</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/128.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al 'Arab*, *ḥataka*.

<sup>42</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/487; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/374; al Samḥūdī, *Wafā*, 1/323.

<sup>43</sup>*Al Ḥilyah*, 1/342.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 1/341.

stomachs, but the Prophet could not provide them with any other food. He asked them to be patient and consoled them.<sup>45</sup> He often invited them to eat with him in his house, but he was not able to offer them good food because he did not spend a great deal on himself and his family. Sometimes he offered them milk to drink, and on another occasions he gave them *jashīshah* (a flour cooked with meat or dates). Once he gave them *hīṣah* (a dish made from dates, flour, and clarified butter), and on another occasion roasted barley, but on one occasion they had *tharīd* (a dish of sopped bread, meat and broth).<sup>46</sup> He used to apologize to them if the food was not excellent. Once he offered them a platter of something made from barley, and said: "By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, what you see is all the food that is here tonight with the family of Muḥammad."<sup>47</sup>

No doubt they used to have better food when one of the rich companions invited them to his house, which happened frequently.<sup>48</sup> But most of the time they could not find enough to keep body and soul together. This affected them so much that they used to faint from hunger during the prayer, which made the nomad Arabs think that they were insane. Abū Hurayrah used to fall down between the *minbar* and the room of 'Ā'ishah because of hunger.<sup>49</sup> But their lack of food did not make them greedy. Rather, the rights and duties of brotherhood governed their relationships with each other. Abū Hurayrah narrated that when they gathered to eat dates, if one of them ate two dates together, he would say to his companions: "I have taken two dates together, so do the same," so that he would not have eaten more than they.<sup>50</sup>

They were content with little food and rough clothes. They rejected a life of luxury in order to devote themselves to worship, knowledge, and *jihād*. They exemplified a life of rigor and detachment from worldly concerns.

### How the prophet and the companions took care of the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*

The Prophet used to look after the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* himself. He used to visit them, see how they were, and visit any of them who were sick.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/487; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/339, 374; Al Samhūdī, *Wafā*, 1/323.

<sup>46</sup> Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/68, 119; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/515, 3/490; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/256; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/373-374; al Samhūdī, *Wafā*, 1/323.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/256.

<sup>48</sup> Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Mawāqīt*, *Bāb al Samar ma' al Ḍayf wa al Ahl*: Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/341.

<sup>49</sup> Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/339-378.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 1/339-340.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 1/375.

He often used to sit with them, guiding them, consoling them, reminding them of religious matters, telling them parables, directing them to recite and study the Qur'an, to remember Allah, to look forward to the hereafter, and encouraging them to disdain this world and its pleasures.<sup>52</sup>

Whenever he received *ṣadaqah*, he would send it to them without taking any of it for himself, and whenever he received a gift, he would send for them and share it with them.<sup>53</sup> He often used to invite them to a meal in one of his wives' rooms.<sup>54</sup> He never neglected them, and they were always on his mind. When al-Ḥasan was born, he asked his daughter Fāṭimah to give the weight of the baby's hair in silver to the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah* as *ṣadaqah*.<sup>55</sup>

On one occasion, some prisoners of war were brought to him, so his daughter Fāṭimah asked him to give her one of them as a servant, because she was exhausted from having too much to do. He answered her: "Shall I give you a servant and leave the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah* to suffer from hunger?" He explained to her that he was going to sell the captives and spend the money on the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah*. It seems that she also asked him to give her money.

The Prophet had already visited 'Alī and seen that their blanket was too short to cover them. Nonetheless, he taught them some supplications to say and preferred to give to the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah* rather than to them. He said: "I could not give to you and leave the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah* suffering from hunger."<sup>56</sup>

The Prophet encouraged the *Ṣaḥābah* to give *ṣadaqah* to the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah*,<sup>57</sup> so they began to give them whatever good things they could.<sup>58</sup> The rich Muslims from Quraysh used to send them food.<sup>59</sup> The Prophet used to distribute the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah* among his companions after *Ṣalāt al-Ishā'*, so that they could eat dinner with them. He used to say: "Whoever has enough food for two, let him take a third man, and if he has enough for four, let him take a fifth or a sixth."<sup>60</sup> Thus the companions took some of them, and the Prophet took those who were left into his house, where they ate dinner with him.<sup>61</sup>

It seems that this was the situation at the beginning of the *hijrah*. But when the Muslims were blessed by God with wealth, there was no longer any need to distribute the *Ahl al-Ṣuffah* among the companions.

<sup>52</sup> Aḥmad, *al-Musnad*, 4/8; Abū Nu'aym, *al-Ḥilyah*, 1/340-341; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, 1/322.

<sup>53</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Riqāq*, ch. 14; Aḥmad, *al-Musnad*, 2/515; Abū Nu'aym, *al-Ḥilyah*, 1/377, 339; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, 1/322.

<sup>54</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Riqāq*, ch. 14, and *Kitāb al-Istidhān*, ch. 14; Aḥmad, *al-Musnad*, 2/515, 3/429, 490; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan: Kitāb al-Masājid wa al-Jamā'āt: Bāb al-Nawm fī al-Masjid*; Abū Nu'aym, *al-Ḥilyah*, 1/338-9; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, 1/322-3.

<sup>55</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 9/304.

<sup>56</sup> Aḥmad, *al-Musnad*, 1/79, 106.

<sup>57</sup> Abū Nu'aym, *al-Ḥilyah*, 1/340.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 1/340.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 1/378.

<sup>60</sup> al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Mawāqīt*, *Bāb al-Samar Ma'a al-Dayf wa al-Ahl*.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 1/255; Abū Nu'aym, *al-Ḥilyah*, 1/338, 341, 373.

Seventy of the *Anṣār* who were called *al Qurṛā'* (the reciters of the Qur'ān) became concerned about the situation of the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* (these 70 were the ones who were martyred at Bi'r Ma'ūnah).<sup>62</sup> They used to read and study the Qur'ān at night, and during the day they used to bring water to the Mosque, chop wood and sell it, and use the money to buy food, which they gave to the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* and to the poor. Muḥammad ibn Salamah and other *Anṣār* suggested to the Prophet that each of them should give a bunch of dates when they ripened, as *ṣadaqah* for the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* and the poor, and he agreed to that. He put a rope between two columns in the Mosque, and the people began to hang bunches of dates on the rope. Sometimes there would be twenty or more bunches hanging there at one time.

Mu'ādh ibn Jabal used to guard the bunches of dates. Another report indicates that it was the Prophet who suggested that the people should give some of the fruit from their orchards as *ṣadaqah*, so that God would remove a disease that had struck their fruit. They did so.<sup>63</sup>

The Prophet chastised a man for hanging up a bunch of inferior-quality dates. He wanted the *ṣadaqah* to be of better quality.<sup>64</sup> A report in al Samhūdī indicates that the custom of hanging dates in the Prophet's Mosque in Madīnah continued at least until the end of the second century AH.<sup>65</sup> The following verses are said to have been revealed concerning the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*:

— If God were to enlarge the provision for His servants, they would indeed transgress beyond all bounds through the earth; but He sends (it) down in due measure as he pleases. For He is with His servants well-acquainted, watchful. (*Al Shūrā* 42:27).

Al Ṭabarī and Abū Nu'aym mentioned, with their *isnads* going back to 'Amr ibn Ḥārith and others, that this verse was revealed concerning the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. But this verse was revealed in Makkah, so it could not possibly be about them.<sup>66</sup>

— (Charity is) for those in need, who, in Allah's cause are restricted from travel and cannot move about in the land, (seeking for trade or work): the ignorant man thinks, because of their modesty, that they are free from want. You shall know them by their (unfailing) mark: they beg not importunately from all and sundry. And whatever of good you give, be assured Allah knows it well. (*Al Baqarah* 2:273).

<sup>62</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Imārah*, ḥadīth no. 147; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/270; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/514.

<sup>63</sup>Al Samhūdī, *waḥī*, 1/324-5.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 1/325.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 1/324.

<sup>66</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 25/30; Abū Nu'aym, *al Ḥilyah*, 1/333.

Ibn Sa'd mentions an *isnād* going back to Ibn Ka'b al Qurazī who said "They are the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*."<sup>67</sup> Al Ṭabarī mentions, with *isnāds* going back to Mujāhid and al Sa'dī, that it was revealed concerning the poor *Muhājirūn*.<sup>68</sup>

— Send not away those who call on their Lord morning and evening, seeking His face. . . (*Al An'ām* 6:52).

Ibn Kathīr mentioned that this verse was revealed in Makkah, and could not have been revealed concerning the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.<sup>69</sup> Some of al Ṭabarī's reports agree with this.<sup>70</sup>

— And keep your soul content with those who call on their Lord morning and evening, seeking His face. . . (*Al Kahf* 18:28).

This verse was revealed in Makkah and could not have been revealed concerning the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.

— Nor (is there blame) on those who come to you to be provided with mounts, and when you said, 'I can find no mounts for you', they turned back, their eyes streaming with tears. (*Al Tawbah* (9:92)).

Abū Nu'aym mentioned that it was revealed concerning the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*.<sup>71</sup> But the reports which both al Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr transmitted do not mention that most of the reports mention that this verse was revealed concerning the Seven Weepers from Banū Mazīnah.

## The historians who wrote about the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*

One of the earliest scholars who wrote about the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* was Muḥammad ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH). Everything he mentioned was taken from al Wāqidī, but we cannot find these reports in the *Maghāzī* of al Wāqidī. They were probably taken from his other book, *al Ṭabaqāt*, which is lost.<sup>72</sup> Ibn Sa'd reports a great deal from him in *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*.<sup>73</sup>

However, the earliest scholar whom I could find who wrote a book dealing only with the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* was Abū 'Abd al Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn al Ḥusayn

<sup>67</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/255.

<sup>68</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 11/376.

<sup>69</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al Qur'ān al 'Aẓīm*, 2/135.

<sup>70</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 11/376.

<sup>71</sup>*Al Ḥilyah*, 1/371-2.

<sup>72</sup>Akram al 'Umarī, *Buḥūth fī Tārīkh al Sunnah al Musharrafah*, 53.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 56.



al Salami al Nisābūrī (d. 412 AH), in his book *Tārīkh Ahl al Ṣuffah*,<sup>74</sup> which has been lost. It is probably the source from which Abū Nu'aym transmitted in the chapter of his *Hilyah al Awliyā'* dealing with the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. He did not mention it by name, but he mentioned that he transmitted reports from it in another place in his book.<sup>75</sup> Abū Nu'aym said that it was written in alphabetical order and contained the names of a group who were known as *Ahl al Qiblah* who were connected to the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*. It was a slip of the pen on the part of some narrators.<sup>76</sup>

Among the later scholars was Taqī al Dīn al Subkī (d. 856 AH), who wrote a book about the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* called *al Tuḥfah fī al Kalām 'alā Ahl al Ṣuffah*<sup>77</sup> (Gems about the *Ahl al Ṣuffah*); and al Samhūdī, who wrote a monograph (*kitāb*) about the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* in which he gathered together the reports which were scattered in the books of *ḥadīth*, history and geography, and dictionaries.

May God have mercy on the *Ahl al Ṣuffah* who prayed and fasted intently and who lived a life of rigor and strength. God, most great, has truthfully said:

...The ignorant man thinks, because of their modesty, that they are free from want, Thou shalt know them by their (unfailing) mark: they beg not importunately from all and sundry. . . (*Al Baqarah* 2:273)

How different is this example from what the very poor in non-Islamic societies do, such as forming gangs to steal and kill and commit other crimes which leave the society bereft of stability and security. This is the difference between the teachings of Muḥammad and the teachings of *Jāhiliyyah*, and between the system of God and the system of men.

In the next chapter, I will describe the strong bonds which Islam put into effect in Madīnah, where Islamic society appeared at its best and most complete. From this we will understand clearly why the class conflict does not arise in the Islamic society, and why the rich and poor alike stand shoulder-to-shoulder to support the message of Islam. It is brotherhood and mutual support among the believers, as they are manifested in the promulgation of the constitution of Madīnah.

<sup>74</sup>Hājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al Zūnūn*, 1/287; but he called it *Tārīkh Ahl al Ṣuffah*. This may be an alteration. (See Nūr al Dīn Sharībah's Introduction to *Ṭabaqāt al Ṣūfiyyah* by al Salmrī, 1/34.)

<sup>75</sup>Abū Nu'aym, *al Hilyah*, 3/25.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 1/347.

<sup>77</sup>Rekendorf, *Dā'irat al Ma'ārif al Islāmiyyah*, 106.

## ***Chapter X***



## The Announcement of the Constitution of Madīnah

### The treaty with the Jews

The Prophet organized the relationships between the various inhabitants of Madīnah, and recorded this in a document which is reported in the historical sources. The aim of this document was to explain the commitments of each group within Madīnah, and to define their rights and duties. In the old sources this document is called *al Kitāb* (the book) and *al Ṣaḥīfah* (sheet of paper). Modern research calls it *al Dustūr* (the Constitution) or *al Wathīqah* (the Document).

### The sources through which the Document was reported

Contemporary researchers have relied upon the document as the basis for their study of the Messenger's reforms in Madīnah.<sup>1</sup> But it is most essential to ascertain to what extent the document is authentic, before basing any studies on it, especially since one of the researchers considers the document to be fabricated.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the legal (*sharʿī*) importance of the documents, besides its historical importance, it must be judged according to the standards of the scholars of *ḥadīth*, in order to determine its strength or weakness. It should not be dealt with as lightly as other historical reports. The earliest scholar who reported the text of the Constitution was Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 151 AH), but he reported it without an *isnād*.<sup>3</sup> Both Ibn Sayyid al Nās<sup>4</sup> and Ibn

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<sup>1</sup>The following have been written about the Constitution:

Dr. Sālih Aḥmad al 'Alī, in his article, "*Tanzīmāt al Rasūl al Idāriyyah fī al Madīnah*" (The Administrative set up of the Messenger in Madīnah).

Dr. 'Abd al 'Azīz al Dūrī, in his book *al Nuḥum al Islāmiyyah*.

Serjeant, "The Constitution of Medina," in *Islamic Quarterly* VIII (1964): 3-16.

Others have also written about this subject, and are cited by Professor Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh in his book *Majmu'at al Wathā'iq al Siyāsiyyah* (The Collection of Political Documents), 39-41.

<sup>2</sup>This is the opinion of Professor Yūsuf al 'Ish, in his footnote to *al Dawlah al 'Arabiyyah wa Suqūṭuhā* (The Arab State and its Decline), by Wellhausen, trans. by al 'Ish, p. 20, footnote no. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 1/501-4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 1/197-8.

Kathīr<sup>5</sup> claimed to have transmitted it from him, and they both transmitted it without *isnād* also. Al Bayhaqī<sup>6</sup> referred to Ibn Ishāq's *isnād* of the document which defines the relationships between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, without including the clauses which dealt with the Jews. For this reason, we cannot be sure that he took it from the same source. Ibn Sayyid al Nās relates that Ibn Abū Khaythamah<sup>7</sup> reported the document with the following *isnād*: "Aḥmad ibn Khabbāb Abū al Walīd narrated that 'Īsā ibn Yūsuf narrated from his father, and from his grandfather, that the Messenger of Allah established a treaty in writing between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, and he asserted that it was similar to the document which was reported by Ibn Ishāq."<sup>8</sup> However, it appears that the constitution was reported in that part of the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Abū Khaythamah which is now lost, because it is not extant in those parts of the book which have reached us. The document was also reported in *Kitāb al Amwāl*, by Abū 'Ubayd al Qāsim ibn Salām with another *isnād*, which reads: "Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bakīr and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ narrated to me that al Layth ibn Sa'd narrated that 'Uqayl ibn Khālīd narrated from Ibn Shihāb who said: "I heard that the Messenger of God established this treaty in writing. . ." and mentioned it."

The document was also reported through al Zuhri in *Kitāb al Amwāl* by Ibn Zanjawayh.<sup>9</sup>

These are the ways in which the full text of the document were reported. All the reports are very similar, apart from some differences in the arrangements of phrases, or slight differences in vocabulary, or a slight increase in the number of phrases. But these differences do not affect its general content.

### The extent of the document's authenticity

A number of modern scholars have based their studies on the document, but on the whole, Professor Yūsuf al 'Ish has suggested that the document is a fabrication. He says: "It was not reported in the books of jurisprudence and authentic *ḥadīth*, in spite of its legislative importance. Rather, Ibn Ishāq reported it without *isnād*, and Ibn Sayyid al Nās transmitted it from him.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 3/224-6.

<sup>6</sup>*Al Sunan al Kubrā, Kitāb al Diyāt*, 8/106.

<sup>7</sup>That is, al Ḥafīz al Ḥujjah al Imām Aḥmad ibn Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb al Nasā'ī (d. 279 AH). The third volume of this history has reached us. (See; Akram al 'Umari, *Buḥūth fī Tārīkh al Sunan al Musharrafah*, 87-90).

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 1/198.

<sup>9</sup>Ḥamīd ibn Zanjawayh (d. 247) also reported it through 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ in an *Isnād* similar to that reported by Abu 'Ubayd. (See: *Kitāb al Amwāl* by Ibn Zanjawayh, revised by Dr. Shākir Dhīb Fayāḍ, n. 750.)

He added that Kathīr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr al Muzanī reported it from his father, and from his grandfather. Ibn Hibbān al Bustī mentioned that Kathīr al Muzanī reported a fabricated version from his father and grandfather. It is not permitted (*ḥalāl*) to include it in a book or to narrate from it, except for the purpose of expressing amazement."<sup>10</sup> Al 'Ish thinks that Ibn Ishāq relied on the report of Kathīr, but deliberately omitted the *isnād*.<sup>11</sup>

Professor al 'Ish made that suggestion because he thought that the Document had not been reported by anybody other than Ibn Ishāq. He could not find any other *isnād* for it apart from that which Ibn Sayyid al Nās refers to from Ibn Abū Khaythamah's report of it through Kathīr al Muzanī. But Abū 'Ubayd al Qāsim ibn Salām cited the Document through al Zuhri. This is an independent chain which has no connection with Kathīr al Muzanī. In view of the fact that Ibn Ishāq was one of the most distinguished students of al Zuhri, there is a possibility that he cited the Document through al Zuhri except for the fact that al Bayhaqī identified Ibn Ishāq's *isnād* for the Document which defined the relationships between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, without including the clauses which dealt with the Jews. We cannot be sure whether Ibn Ishāq took the clauses which dealt with the Jews from this source or from another. Al Bayhaqī said: 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al Mughīrah ibn al Akhnas ibn Shurayq said: 'I took this Document, along with the document of *al ṣadaqah*, from the family of 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb.'" The *ḥadīth* is *ḍa'īf* in this *isnād*, because the *isnād* includes men who are *ḍa'īf* in one way or another, such as 'Uthmān, who is trustworthy, but sometimes is confused and makes mistakes; and Yūnus ibn Bukayr, who is known to make mistakes; and al 'Aṭṭār, who is weak. This report should be considered seriously, in spite of its weakness, and it has been acknowledged. The text destroys the base upon which Professor al 'Ish built his opinion. It is not possible to judge the Document as being fabricated just because the books of *ḥadīth* did not report its complete text. The books of *ḥadīth* reported many of its clauses, as will be pointed out in this study.

Hence, it becomes clear that it is reckless to judge the Document as being fabricated. The Document as a whole, however, cannot be put on a par with the authentic *ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Ishāq reported it in his *Sīrah* without *isnād*, which makes his report *ḍa'īf*. Al Bayhaqī also reported it from Ibn Ishāq, with an *isnād* which includes Sa'd ibn al Mundhir, who is *maqbul* (acceptable) only. Ibn Abū Khaythamah reported it through Kathīr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr al Muzanī, who has narrated fabricated material. Abū 'Ubayd al Qāsim ibn Salām reported it with a *munqaṭi' isnād* (an *isnād* having a missing link) which only goes back to al Zuhri, who is one of the lesser *Tābi'ūn*, so his *mursal ḥadīth* (transmission of a tradition of a successor from the Prophet directly, dropping the companion from the *isnād*) cannot be taken as evidence.

<sup>10</sup>See what Ibn Hibbān said in Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8/422.

<sup>11</sup>Yūsuf al 'Ish, footnote no. 9, p. 20 of *al Dawlah al 'Arabīyyah wa Suqūṭuhā*.

But there are some texts of the Document which have been reported in the books of *ḥadīth*, some of which were reported by al Bukhārī and Muslim. These texts are among authentic *ḥadīth*. The jurists used them as evidence and based their rulings on them. Some of these texts were reported in the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, and in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah and al Tirmidhī. These texts came through a different source, independent of the chain of transmitters through which the complete document came. Even if the document, as a whole, is not valid as evidence for the rulings of the *Sharī'ah*—apart from the parts which were reported in the authentic books of *ḥadīth*—it is still valid as a basis for historical study, which does not require such a high level of authenticity as is required for legal judgments, especially since the Document was reported through numerous chains of transmitters which combine to give it strength. Al Zuhri is one of the greatest scholars among the early pioneers in writing the *Sīrah* of the Prophet. The most important books of *Sīrah* and historical sources included the Prophet's peace treaty, which was written down,<sup>12</sup> and also referred to his drawing up a written agreement between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*.

The style of the Document supports its authenticity. "Its paragraphs are formed of short and simple—not complicated—sentences. There is much repetition, and it uses words and expressions which were common at the time of the Messenger, and which became less frequently used, eventually proving too difficult for those who had not studied that period in depth. There is nothing in the Document to commend or condemn any individual or group. Hence we can say that the Document is authentic, and not a forgery."<sup>13</sup> The many similarities between the style of the Document and the style of other writings dictated by the Prophet also commend it as being authentic.

### The date of the writing of the document

It is more likely that there were originally two parts to the document, which historians joined together. One of them dealt with the Messenger's peace treaty with the Jews, and the other explained the commitments, rights and duties of the Muslims, both *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*.

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<sup>12</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/286, 308;  
 al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/479;  
 al Maqdisī, *Kitāb al Bad' wa al Tārīkh*, 4/179;  
 Ibn Hazm, *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 95;  
 al Maqrizī, *Imtā' al Asmā'*, 1/49;

Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 4/103-104, transmitting from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah. He reports that Banū Qurayzah destroyed the paper on which the treaty was written. This report is given without *isnād*, but when all the reports are put together they strengthen one another and reach the level of *ḥasan li ghayrih*.

<sup>13</sup>Dr. Ṣāliḥ al 'Alī, *Tanzīmat al Rasūl al Idāriyyah fī al Madīnah*, pp. 4-5. For the contrast in styles, refer to *Majmū'at al Wathā'iq al Siyāsiyyah*.

It is most likely that the document of the peace treaty with the Jews was written before the Battle of Badr,<sup>14</sup> and the document between the *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* was written after Badr. The sources mention that the peace treaty with the Jews was concluded when the Messenger first came to Madīnah. Abū Ubayd al Qāsim ibn Salām said that the document "recorded two events: the coming of the Messenger of God to Madīnah before Islam became strong and before he was ordered to take *Jizyah* from the People of the Book."<sup>15</sup> Islam became strong after the Battle of Badr. Al Balādhurī says: "It was said that when the Messenger of God came to Madīnah he made a peace treaty with the Jews there and wrote a document between them and himself. He stipulated that they should not assist his enemies and should support him in fighting invaders, and that he should not fight for *Ahl al Dhimmah*. So the Messenger of Allah did not fight anyone and no one provoked him. He did not send out an expeditionary force (*sariyyah*) until Allah revealed to him:

To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged – and verily, Allah has indeed the power to succor them (*Al Ḥajj* 22:39).

The first party he sent out was led by Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, al Balādhurī explains that the document of the peace treaty with the Jews was written before the first expeditions were sent out. It is known that the expedition of Ḥamzah took place in Ramaḍān of the first year AH, just over a year before Badr.<sup>17</sup> In another place, where he discusses the military action against Banu Qaynuqā', al Balādhurī says: "The reason for this *ghazwah* was that when the Messenger of God came to Madīnah, he made a peace treaty with all the Jews, which was written in a document; and when he won the Battle of Badr and returned uninjured and in triumph to Madīnah, they became hostile and broke the treaty."<sup>18</sup> Thus al Balādhurī is certain that the treaty with the Jews took place before Badr.

Al Ṭabarī says: "After returning from Badr, the Messenger of God stayed in Madīnah. He had made a treaty with the Jews when he came to Madīnah, which stipulated that they should not support anyone against him, and that

<sup>14</sup>Dr. Sāliḥ al 'Alī suggests that it was also written after Badr. (*Tanzīmat al Rasūl al Idāriyyah fī al Madīnah*, 6.)

<sup>15</sup>*Al Amwāl*, no. 518.

<sup>16</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/286.

<sup>17</sup>See al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/402, transmitting from al Wāqidī. Ibn Ishāq considers that the *sariyyah* of 'Ubaydah ibn al Ḥārith took place before that of Ḥamzah. He explained that they happened very close together, and that they happened in Rabī' al Awwal in the year 2 AH. Both al Ṭabarī and Ibn Ishāq agreed that the first *sarāyā* were sent out before Badr. This is the point of this research. (See Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 1/595.)

<sup>18</sup>Al Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1/308.



if Madīnah were invaded by an enemy, they should support him. When the Messenger of Allah killed some of the idolaters of Quraysh, the Jews showed jealousy and hostility towards him, and broke the treaty."<sup>19</sup> Thus the text of al Ṭabarī supports the claim that the peace treaty with the Jews was concluded when the Prophet came to Madīnah, before the Battle of Badr.

In his *Sunan*, Abū Dāwūd<sup>20</sup> reports—after confirming the killing of Ka'b ibn al Ashraf and the complaint of the Jews and the *Mushrikūn* about this to the Messenger—that “the Prophet invited them to draw up a document between them and himself, to which they could refer to in the future. So the Prophet had a document written between them, himself, and the Muslims in general.” It is known that the killing of Ka'b ibn al Ashraf happened after Badr, so we must reconcile this event with the historical reports. According to the conditions of the *ḥadīth* scholars, this report is stronger than the reports of the historians which I mentioned earlier. But as long as it is possible to reconcile them, there is no need to dismiss all other historical reports, because it is possible that after the killing of Ka'b, the Document was rewritten in order to affirm and renew it, to restore the feeling of security after this event which had frightened the Jews and *Mushrikūn*.

Al Bayhaqī mentioned the following report with a different chain of narrators from that of Abū Dāwūd, and with more detail: “The Messenger of Allah had the document written beneath the palm tree at the residence of Bint al Ḥārith. After the death of the Messenger of Allah, the document was in the keeping of 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib.”<sup>21</sup>

The document between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* was written after the document of the treaty with the Jews, in the second year of the *hijrah*. Among the events of the second year, al Ṭabarī mentions, “it is said that in this year the Messenger of Allah had the texts of a document written, and it was attached to his sword.”<sup>22</sup> The name of this sword was *Dhū al Fiqār*, which he had taken as booty at the Battle of Badr.<sup>23</sup>

These *ma'āqil* which were attached to the sword were the texts of the document between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, as the report of Ibn Sa'd indicates: “Ubayd Allāh ibn Mūsā told us that Isrā'īl told him from Jābir from 'Āmir, who said: “I read on the scabbard of the sword of the Messenger of Allah, *Dhū al Fiqār*: All believers should pay blood money, nobody should be destitute in Islam, and no Muslim should be killed in return for a *Kāfir*.”<sup>24</sup> Afterwards,

<sup>19</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/483, *Kitāb al Tafsīr*.

<sup>20</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/357.

<sup>21</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/446-450; Abū Nu'aym, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/176-7.

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/683; Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11, *Mu'allaq* from Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>23</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/363; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/57.

<sup>24</sup>*Al Sirah*, 3/683.

'Alī kept the sword with the document. On one occasion, Abū Juḥayfah<sup>25</sup> asked 'Alī about the document, and on a second occasion, al Ashtar<sup>26</sup> asked him. He told them about it either by giving the meaning or by quoting it, and he also mentioned its contents briefly in one of his sermons.<sup>27</sup>

For example, 'Alī said: "We did not write down anything from the Prophet except the Qur'ān and what is in this document. The Prophet said: 'Madīnah is a sanctuary from the 'Ā'ir mountain to such-and-such a place, and whoever perpetrates there an heresy or commits a sin, or gives shelter to such a perpetrator will incur the curse of Allah, the Angels and all the people; none of his compulsory or optional good deeds of worship will be accepted.'<sup>28</sup>

'Alī also pointed out that the different types (ages) of camel required in compensation for injuries were stipulated in the document.<sup>29</sup> He once added: "A Believer should not be killed in return for a *Kāfir*, and the one who is party to an agreement cannot be killed so long as the agreement remains in force."<sup>30</sup> He also mentioned that it contained the words: "Blood money and ransom of the captives also."<sup>31</sup> The companions of 'Alī read in the said document: "Ibrāhīm sanctified Makkah, and I sanctify the whole of Madīnah between its two *Ḥarrahs* (areas of volcanic rock). No one is to pick the wild plants or to hunt the wild animals. It is not permitted to keep anything which you find without announcing it. We should not cut down any trees, except for a man to feed his camel, and no weapon for fighting should be carried here."<sup>32</sup>

It is clear that most of these extracts correspond exactly with what was reported in the document. They cover most of the clauses of the document which deal with the duties of the Muslims—both *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*—toward each other, but they do not give any indication of the clauses which deal with the peace treaty with the Jews. This makes it more likely that the document is composed of two treaties, and that the document which was attached to the sword of the Prophet, and which later came into the possession of 'Alī, was in fact the document between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*.

<sup>25</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9/14; al Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6/182; Ibn Mājah, *al Sunan*, 2/887; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/79.

<sup>26</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/119, 122.

<sup>27</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/296.

<sup>28</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/296; Ibn Mājah, *al Sunan*, 2/887.

<sup>29</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/19.

Aḥmad reported it from the chain of references of 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb from his father and from his grandfather that the Prophet judged that a Muslim should not be killed in return for a *Kāfir* (*al Musnad* 2/178). See other reference chains for this *ḥadīth* in Ibn Mājah, *al Sunan* 2/887, and al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ* 9/14, 16, and *Ṣaḥīḥ al Tirmidhī*, explained by Ibn al 'Arabī, 6/182.

<sup>31</sup>Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9/14; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 1/79; see also al Shawkānī, *Nayl al Awṭār*, 7/10.

<sup>32</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/119, see also 4/27. Also in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* with commentary (9/136) of al Nawawī from Jābir, the Prophet said: "I sanctify what is between the two *Ḥarrahs* of Madīnah: no one is to cut down the bushes or hunt the wild animals . . .". At the beginning of the Umayyad period, the people were in possession of a document written on skin, in which the Prophet defined the sanctity of Madīnah. (Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/27; and al Khaṭīb al Baghdādī, *Taqyīd al 'Ilm*, 72).

It is worth adding that there are some texts which correspond with the document between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, but they are attributed to other documents which the Prophet had written. For example, 'Amr ibn Ḥazm reported that the Messenger had a letter written to the people of al Yaman which included the following: "Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason will be subject to retaliation unless the next of kin is satisfied (with blood money)."<sup>33</sup> This letter was sent after the document was written.

Some of the reports make it clear that on the day of the liberation of Makkah, the Prophet said: "No believer can be killed in return for a *Kāfir*."<sup>34</sup> These texts are considered to have been written at a later date when the document was written. But this does not prove that the document is a collection of letters which were written at different times and then added to the document.<sup>35</sup> There is nothing to suggest that the Prophet did not mention some of the clauses of the document in his letters. We should be aware of the fact that there are no clauses concerning the Jews in the document which deals with the forts (*ma'āqil*). This makes it more likely that the document of the peace treaty with the Jews was independent of the document with the forts. This view is supported by the *ḥadīth* of Anas ibn Mālīk: "The Messenger of Allah made an alliance between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* in the house of Anas ibn Mālīk."<sup>36</sup> Anas did not mention the presence of the Jews in this alliance.

It is also supported by the *ḥadīth* of 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, that: "The Prophet had a document written between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, which stated that they should pay the blood money, redeem their prisoners with kindness and make peace among the Muslims."<sup>37</sup> The Jews are not mentioned in this document. This is probably supported by the fact that al Bayhaqī identifies the clauses dealing with the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* with an *isnād* mentioned by Ibn Ishāq. There is no reference to the Jews, and the clauses correspond with what Ibn Hishām reported from Ibn Ishāq.

The reports which I have identified make it more likely that there were two separate treaties. The first one dealt with the relationship with the Jews and was written before Badr, when the Prophet first came to Madīnah. The second dealt with the alliance between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, and was written after Badr. The historians joined the two treaties together under one document.

<sup>33</sup>Al Shawkānī, *Nayl al Awṭār*, 7/61; see also, Ḥamīd Allāh's, *Majmū'at al Wathā'iq*, 186, which explains that this is from the Prophet's letter which he had written to 'Amr ibn Ḥazm who was his governor in al Yaman.

<sup>34</sup>al Shawkānī, *Nayl al Awṭār*, 7/10.

<sup>35</sup>Serjeant suggests this in his article, "The Constitution of Medina."

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 3/224. He said that Imām Aḥmad, al Bukhārī, Muslim, and Abū Dāwūd reported it.

<sup>37</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/371, 2/204. Ibn Kathīr (reporting from Aḥmad), *al Bidāyah*, 3/224.

**The Prophet's document between the *Muhājirūn*,  
the *Anṣār* and the Jews**

**The text of the document<sup>38</sup>**

*Bismi Allah al Raḥmān al Raḥīm*

Clause:

- (1) This is a document from Muḥammad, the Prophet (governing the relations) between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who followed them and joined them and struggled with them.
- (2) They are one community (*ummah*) to the exclusion of all men.
- (3) The Quraysh *Muhājirūn*, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money within their number and shall redeem their prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.
- (4) The Banū 'Awf, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.
- (5) Banū al Ḥārith (Ibn al Khazraj), according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto and every section shall redeem its prisoners with kindness and justice.
- (6) Banū Sā'idah, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.
- (7) Banū Jusham, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.
- (8) Banū al Najjār, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.
- (9) Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.
- (10) Banū al Nabīṭ, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.

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<sup>38</sup>*Majmū'at Al Wathā'iq al Siyāsīyah*, p. 41-47.

(11) Banū al Aws, according to their present custom, shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto, and every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.

(12a) Believers shall not leave anyone destitute among them by not paying his redemption money or blood money in kindness.

(12b) A believer shall not take as an ally against him the freedman of another Muslim.

(13) The God-fearing believers shall be against the rebellious or anyone who seeks to spread injustice, or sin, or enmity, or corruption between believers; the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son of one of them.

(14) A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer.

(15) God's protection is all-embracing, the least of them may give protection to a stranger on their behalf. Believers are friends and protectors one to the other, to the exclusion of outsiders.

(16) To the Jews who follow us belong help and equality. He shall not be wronged nor shall his enemies be aided.

(17) The peace of the believers is indivisible. No peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God. Conditions must be fair and equitable to all.

(18) In every foray a rider must take another behind him.

(19) The believers must avenge the blood of one another shed in the way of God.

(20a) The God-fearing believers enjoy the best and most upright guidance.

(20b) No polytheist shall take the property or person of Quraysh under his protection nor shall he intervene against a believer.

(21) Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason shall be subject to retaliation unless the next of kin is satisfied (with blood money), and the believers shall be against him as one man, and they are bound to take action against him.

(22) It shall not be lawful to a believer who holds by what is in this document and believes in God and the last day, to help an evil-doer or to shelter him. The curse of God and His anger on the day of resurrection will be upon him if he does, and neither repentance nor ransom will be received from him.

(23) Whenever you differ about a matter, it must be referred to God and to Muḥammad.

(24) The Jews shall contribute to the cost of war so long as they are fighting alongside the believers.

(25) The Jews of the Banū 'Awf are one community with the believers (the Jews have their religion and the Muslims have theirs), their freedmen and their persons except those who behave unjustly and sinfully, for they hurt but themselves and their families.

(26) The Jews of Banū al Najjār are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf.

(27) The Jews of Banū al Ḥārith are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf.

(28) The Jews of Banū Sā'idah are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf.

(29) The Jews of Banū Jusham are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf.

(30) The Jews of Banū al Aws are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf.

(31) The Jews of Banū al Tha'labah are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf, except for whoever behaves unjustly and sinfully, for they hurt but themselves and their families.

(32) Jafnah, a clan of the Tha'labah, are as themselves.

(33) The Jews of Banū al Shutaybah are like the Jews of Banū 'Awf. Righteousness is a protection against sinfulness.

(34) The freedmen of Tha'labah are as themselves.

(35) The close friends of the Jews are as themselves.

(36a) None of them shall go out to war save with the permission of Muḥammad.

(36b) But he shall not be prevented from taking revenge for a wound. He who slays a man without warning slays himself and his household, unless it be one who has wronged him, for God will accept that.

(37a) The Jews must bear their expenses and the Muslims their expenses. Each must help the other against anyone who attacks the people of this document. They must seek mutual advice and consultation, and righteousness is a protection against sinfulness.

(37b) A man is not liable for his ally's misdeeds. The wronged must be helped.

(38) The Jews must pay with the believers so long as war lasts.

(39) Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for the people of this document.

(40) A stranger under protection shall be as his host doing no harm and committing no crime.

(41) A woman shall only be given protection with the consent of her family.

(42) If any dispute or controversy likely to cause trouble should arise, it must be referred to God and to Muḥammad, the Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), God accepts what is nearest to piety and goodness in this document.

(43) Quraysh and their helpers shall not be given protection.

(44) The contracting parties are bound to help one another against any attack on Yathrib.

(45a) If they are called to make peace and maintain it, they must do so; and if they make a similar demand on the believers, it must be carried out except in the case of one engaged in combat for the sake of the religion.

(45b) Everyone shall have his portion from the faction to which he belongs.

(46) The Jews of al Aws, their freedmen and thus themselves, have the same standing with the people of this document and the same loyalty from the people of this document. Righteousness is the protection against sinfulness: each person bears responsibility for his actions. God approves of this document.

(47) This deed will not protect the unjust and the sinner. The man who goes forth to fight is safe and the man who stays at home in the city is safe, unless either has been unjust and sinned. God is the protector of the righteous and God-conscious, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace).

### Analysis of the document

We have already come to the conclusion that the document was originally two. Any discussion or analysis of it must, therefore, be based on a distinction between the material which deals with the Jews and that which organizes the relationships among the Muslims and defines their rights and duties.

We will discuss the clauses dealing with the Jews first, because it seems more likely that, chronologically speaking, they come first, despite the fact that they come later in the order of the clauses in the document, in which the clauses of the second document, dealing with the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, come first.

### The document of the peace treaty with the Jews

Clauses (24) through (47) of the document deal with the peace treaty with the Jews. This order indicates that the clauses of the two documents have not become intermingled. The clauses of each document are presented as a whole and in sequence. However, Clause (16) is included in the document dealing with the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, although it deals with the Jews, because it ensured that the Muslims will deal justly with their allies, the Jews. Hence, this clause should not necessarily be included in the document dealing with the peace treaty with the Jews.

Clause (24) shows that the Jews had committed themselves to contribute to the expense of a war in defense of Madīnah and that the Jews continued to contribute so long as the believers were at war. Abū 'Ubayd al Qāsim ibn Salām is of the opinion that the financial commitments of the Jews were not limited to a defensive war; he thinks that the Jews also used to go on military campaigns with the Muslims. He said: "We think that the Jews used to receive a share of the booty when they went on campaigns with the Muslims, on the condition that they made contributions. If there had been no such condition, they would not have received any share of the Muslims' booty."<sup>39</sup> He also related: "Abd al Raḥmān ibn Mahdī reported to us from Sufyān from Yazīd ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir from al Zuhri, who said: 'The Jews used to go out on campaigns with the Messenger of Allah and were given a share of the booty.'"<sup>40</sup> However, this is one of al Zuhri's *mursal ḥadīth*, and cannot be relied upon. But other *ḥadīth* were reported about the Jews' participation in campaigns with the Prophet. These are, in addition to what has been mentioned previously:

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<sup>39</sup>Abū 'Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, 296.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.



1. "The Messenger of Allah asked the Jews of Qaynuqā' for help (in fighting)." This *ḥadīth* was reported through al Ḥasan ibn 'Imārah, and Abū Yūsuf<sup>41</sup> and al Bayhaqī also included it. Al Bayhaqī mentions that al Ḥasan ibn 'Imārah is *matrūk*,<sup>42</sup> in spite of the fact that it is not agreed that he is *ḍa'īf*. But most of the critically scrupulous scholars consider him *ḍa'īf*, to the extent that Suhaylī relates a consensus to this effect.<sup>43</sup>
2. "The Prophet gave a share of the booty to some of the Jews who had fought with him." Al Tirmidhī<sup>44</sup> reported it as *mursal* through al Zuhri, and said that it was *ḥasan gharīb*. Al Tirmidhī states the principle that the *mursal ḥadīth* of al Zuhri cannot be relied upon.
3. "The Prophet used to go out on campaigns with the Jews."<sup>45</sup> This is one of the *mursal ḥadīth* of al Zuhri, and cannot be relied upon.
4. "The Messenger of Allah went out on a campaign with some of the Jews." This was reported by al Bayhaqī,<sup>46</sup> who said that it was *munqaṭi'*. It is also one of the *mursal ḥadīth* of al Zuhri.
5. "The Messenger of Allah went out with ten of the Jews of Madinah and raided Khaybar." Al Wāqidi<sup>47</sup> reported it, but he is *ḍa'īf*. Al Bayhāqī<sup>48</sup> and al Zayla'ī<sup>49</sup> reported it from him.
6. "Some of the Jews fought with the Prophet in some of his wars, and he gave them a share of the booty, as he gave the Muslims." Al Khaṭīb al Baghdādī<sup>50</sup> reported it from Abū Hurayrah, but its *isnād* is *ḍa'īf* and omits some of the narrators.

Hence, it becomes clear that all of the *ḥadīth* which report the Jews' participation in wars with the Messenger of Allah are weak. Some *ḥadīth* have

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<sup>41</sup>Abū Yūsuf, *al Radd 'alā Siyar al Awzā'i*, 40.

<sup>42</sup>al Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 9/53.

<sup>43</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2/304-308.

<sup>44</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 7/49.

<sup>45</sup>al Zayla'ī, *Naṣb al Rāyah*, 3/422.

<sup>46</sup>al Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 9/53.

<sup>47</sup>Al Wāqidi, *Kitāb al Maghāzī*, 2/284.

<sup>48</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 9/53, who stated: "This is *munqaṭi'* and its *isnād* is *ḍa'īf*."

<sup>49</sup>Al Zayla'ī, *Naṣb al Rāyah*, 3/422.

<sup>50</sup>*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 4/160, who said: "Al Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh al Muqri' informed me that Aḥmad ibn al Faraj al Warraq reported that Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn (al Razīn) reported that (al Razīn) said: 'It was read to Rizq Allāh ibn Mūsā, while I was listening, that: Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah reported from Yazīd ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir from Abū Hurayrah.'" It is clear that Yazīd ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir could not have met Abū Hurayrah, because Yazīd was born circa 77 AH, and Abū Hurayrah died in 57 AH.

been reported which show that the Prophet prevented the Jews from taking part in wars with the Muslims. They are:

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh al Ḥākim<sup>51</sup> reported a *ḥadīth* from Abū Ḥamīd al Sā'idī who said: "The Messenger of Allah went out beyond Thinyat al Wadā', where he found a group of warriors. He asked: 'Who are they?' He was told: 'Banū Qaynuqā'. They are the people of 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām.' He then asked: 'Have they become Muslims?' He said: 'Tell them to go back; we do not ask help from the *Mushrikūn*.'"

Al Ḥākim reported this as evidence in support of another *ḥadīth*, in which it is said: "We do not ask *Mushrikūn* for help against other *Mushrikūn*." Al Ḥākim said: "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* in the *isnād*, but they (i.e., al Bukhārī and Muslim) did not report it." This *ḥadīth* was reported as dealing with the Battle of Uḥud, but al Ḥākim's report mentions that it dealt with one of the campaigns, without specifying which one.<sup>52</sup> Specifying the battle of Uḥud is definitely an error, because the Banū Qaynuqā' were banished a year before Uḥud. Al Bayhaqī also reported it from Abū Ḥamīd al Sā'idī through al Ḥākim.<sup>53</sup> Al Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd reported that they were allies of 'Abd al Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, and that the Prophet said: "Do not ask *Mushrikūn* for assistance against other *Mushrikūn*."<sup>54</sup>

2. Ibn Ishāq,<sup>55</sup> Imām Saḥnūn,<sup>56</sup> and Ibn al Qayyim<sup>57</sup> all reported through al Zuhri that "on the day of Uḥud, the *Anṣār* said: 'Why don't we ask our Jewish allies for help?' He said: 'We have no need of them.'"

The first *ḥadīth* is more authentic in its *isnād* than any other, although it includes Sa'd ibn al Mundhir, who is an accepted narrator (*maqbūl*) according to Ibn Ḥajr. The view is more likely because of the report in the document which refers to the Jews' participation in contributing to the war effort; the contribution is, however, confined to wars in defense of Madīnah. Clause (44) offers the following explanation: "The contracting parties are bound to help one another against any attack on Yathrib."

But why did some of the Jews go out to help the Muslims, as suggested by al Ḥākim? This goes back to the alliances which existed between al Aws, al Khazraj and the Jews before the coming of Islam. The Jews probably wanted to reinforce these alliances and to strengthen their ties with their old allies, and to use this to set the Muslims against one another, to weaken their morale

<sup>51</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak 'alā al Ṣaḥīḥayn*, 2/122.

<sup>52</sup>Al Zayla'ī, *Naṣb al Rāyah*, 3/423.

<sup>53</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, 9/37.

<sup>54</sup>Al Wāqidī, *Kitāb al Maghāzī*, 1/215-6; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/27.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/64.

<sup>56</sup>Mālik ibn Anas, *al Mudawwanah al Kubrā*, 3/40.

<sup>57</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/64.

and to spread hypocrisy among them. But the Prophet prevented them from carrying out this plan by refusing any help from them so long as they remained unbelievers. It is clear, from what the *Anṣār* said to the Prophet at Uḥud that the influence of the old alliance between the Aws, Khazraj, and the Jews persisted. They said: "Why do we not ask our Jewish allies for help?" It is also affirmed by the intervention of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, the leader of the hypocrites, on behalf of Banū Qaynuqā', who were the allies of his people, al Khazraj, and by the attempt of some of the Aws to protect their Jewish allies, the Banū Qurayẓah, from being killed after they had accepted the judgment of the Prophet. The Prophet had appointed Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh as judge, and the latter sentenced them to death. By doing so, Sa'd disowned their alliance, just as 'Ubādah ibn al Ṣāmit (who was from Banū 'Awf of the Khazraj) had done before him, when Banū Qaynuqā' had fought against the Messenger.

Clauses (25-35) define the relationship with the Judaized members of al Aws and al Khazraj. The clauses mention their tribal Arab origins, and confirmed their alliance with the Muslims: "The Jews of the Banū 'Awf are one community with the believers." Al 'Ibārah, however, gave a variant reading in *al Amwāl*, when he reported: "...one community among the believers," which led Abū 'Ubayd to say: "He was referring to their helping the believers against their enemies with contributions, a condition imposed upon them." But they had nothing to do with the religion (i.e. Islam). Did the Prophet not make it clear when he said, "The Jews have their religion and the Muslims have theirs?"<sup>58</sup> Ibn Ishāq says, "with the believers," which is more reliable. The phrase in *al Amwāl* has probably been altered.

Clause (25) guarantees freedom of worship to the Jews, and limits the responsibility for crimes to the one who commits them (except those who behave unjustly and sinfully, for they hurt themselves and their families). The criminal will receive his punishment, and if he is a member of a tribe which is party to this treaty, "this deed will not protect the unjust and the sinner."

Clause (45) prohibits the Jews from protecting or helping the Quraysh. The Prophet was planning to intercept the Qurayshite trade caravans which used to pass to the west of Madīnah on their way to Syria. It was necessary to include this commitment in order to prevent any conflict between the Jews and the Muslims which could arise from the Jews protecting the trade caravans of Quraysh. Clause (29) prevents the Jews from leaving Madīnah except with the permission of the Messenger. This restriction on their movements may have been intended, in the first place, to prevent them from undertaking any military activity, such as participating in tribal wars outside Madīnah, which could affect the security and economy of the city. As citizens of the Islamic state, the Jews had to obey the laws of the state. According to Clause (42), the Jews recognized the existence of a higher legislative authority which all

<sup>58</sup> Abū 'Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, p. 296.

the inhabitants of Madīnah, including the Jews, respected. The Jews were not obliged to refer to Islamic legislation in every case, but only when the incident or conflict was between themselves and the Muslims. In their own matters, they referred to the Torah and their rabbis judged among them. If they wished, they could appoint the Prophet as their judge. The Qur'ān gave the Prophet the choice of accepting to be their judge or of sending them back to their rabbis: "... If they do come to you, either judge between them, or decline to interfere. If you decline, they cannot hurt you in the least. If you judge, judge in equity between them. For Allah loves those who judge in equity" (*Al Mā'idah* 5:42).<sup>59</sup> No doubt, they only appointed the Prophet as their judge later, after they had become weaker, as *Surat al Mā'idah* was one of the later *Surahs* to be revealed.

In Clause (45), the treaty is expanded to cover other allies of the Muslims and the Jews, as this clause obliges each party to establish friendship with the allies of the other parties. But the Muslims excluded the Quraysh because they were in a state of war against them.

Clause (32) considers the area of Madīnah to a sanctuary: "Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for the people of this document." A sanctuary is a place which is not violated, its animals are not to be hunted, and its trees are not to be cut down. Madīnah is a sanctuary between the eastern Ḥarrah and western Ḥarrah, and between the Mountain of Thawr in the north and the mountain 'Īr in the south. Wādī al 'Aqīq is part of the sanctuary.<sup>60</sup> This clause ensured the internal security of Madīnah and prevented any war within it.

### The document between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*

The document between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* begins by defining the allied parties: "The believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who followed them and joined them and struggled with them." The distinction between the believers and the Muslims is clear, because, as is well known, the believer (*mu'min*) is the one who believes and confirms his belief by speech, and is convinced of it in his heart. The Muslim is the one who follows the Islamic laws and carries out the compulsory duties of worship. These two types were only clearly distinguishable in Yathrib because of the appearance of hypocrisy among the inhabitants after the battle of Badr. None of the *Muhājirūn* was a Muslim without also being a *mu'min* who believed in his heart.

Clause (2) confirms that: "They are one community to the exclusion of all men," a community whose members are linked by bonds of belief, not of blood,

<sup>59</sup>See also, 'Izzah Durrūzah, *Sīrat al Rasūl*, 2/148.

<sup>60</sup>Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, *Majmu'at al Wathā'iq*, 441-442.

so that they are united in their feelings, thoughts, aims and purposes. Their loyalty is to Allah, and not to the tribe. Their arbitration is according to the *Shari'ah*, and not according to custom. They differ in all these ways from other people ("to the exclusion of all men"). These bonds are confined to the Muslims, and do not include anyone else, such as the Jews or their allies. No doubt the religious community was made distinct in order to increase their solidarity and self-respect. This was clarified by the *Qiblah*, which was changed towards the Ka'bah, after it had been in the direction of Bayt al Maqdis (Jerusalem) for 16 or 17 months.<sup>61</sup> The Prophet went on to make his followers different in many ways, and explained to them that his aim was to make them different from the Jews. For example, the Jews did not pray wearing their shoes, so the Prophet permitted his companions to pray wearing their shoes. The Jews did not dye their grey hairs, so the Muslims dyed their grey hairs with henna and *katam* (a plant used for dying the hair black). The Jews used to fast on the day of 'Āshūrā' (the tenth day of Muḥarram), and the Prophet also fasted on this day. Towards the end of his life, he intended to fast on the ninth day of Muḥarram too, in order to be different from the Jews. The Prophet established the principle of being different from non-Muslims. He said: "Whosoever imitates a people, he is one of them," and "Do not imitate the Jews." There are many *ḥadīth* about this, and they give the meaning that the Muslims are different from, and superior to, non-Muslims. No doubt, imitating others conflicts with our self-respect and superiority to the unbelievers.<sup>62</sup> This distinction and superiority does not form a barrier between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Islamic society is open and expandable, and any one who accepts its ideology can join it.

Clauses (3-11) mention the clans. The *Muhājirūn* are considered as one group because of their small numbers, but the *Anṣār* are referred to according to clan. The fact that the clans are mentioned does not mean that they are considered to be the most important basic bonds between people, nor does it mean that the solidarity of the tribe and clan was retained. That was forbidden by Islam: "Whoever advocates *Aṣabiyyah* is not one of us" (*ḥadīth*). Islam only benefitted from the tribal bonds in establishing a system of social security.

Islam made faith the most important factor in uniting its followers, but it recognized other bonds which came below the bonds of faith, and which could serve society and help to establish a system of social security among the people. Among the bonds that Islam recognized were:

- The special bonds between the members of one family, and the rights and duties of the fathers, children, mothers, and members of one clan which

<sup>61</sup>Khalifah, *al Tārīkh*, 32-42; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1/550.

<sup>62</sup>Ibn Taymiyyah gives a clear idea of this meaning in his book, *Iqtidā' al Ṣirāṭ al Mustaqīm* (The Requirements for Following the Straight Path).

- resulted from these, such as, joint responsibility for paying ransoms and redeeming prisoners of war, and helping the needy among them.
- The special bonds between the residents of one area: “Jibrīl continued to enjoin on me to be good to my neighbor, to such an extent that I thought that he would make him my heir” (*ḥadīth*).
  - The special bonds between the residents of one village: “If any man in one area becomes hungry, then Allah’s protection is removed from those people.”
  - The special bonds between the residents of one city: “their *zakāh* is not to be spent outside the city until all its residents’ needs have been met.”

Thus, Islam made it a duty for each small social unit to deal with its own social security. By doing so, Islam filled huge gaps in societal responsibility. Finally, Islam decreed that the state is to fill the remaining gaps which the individual cannot fill. No doubt, this lifts a heavy burden from the shoulders of the state that is a problem in many modern states.

The aim of recognizing the tribal bonds was to benefit from it in a system of social security. It was not intended to assist oppression, nor did it involve tribal solidarity. Thus, Islam changed the direction of tribal bonds and benefitted from them by adjusting them in accordance with its sublime objectives.

The system of social security obliged the clan to help its members. If one of its members accidentally killed anybody, it was the joint responsibility of all its members to pay the blood money. This was the custom during the *Jāhiliyyah*, and the document confirmed it by what it said concerning cooperation: “according to their present custom (they) shall pay the blood money they paid hitherto,” that is, according to their customs regarding the laws of blood money.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, the clan was to help any of its members who were taken as prisoners of war by paying a ransom for them: “(they) shall redeem their prisoners with kindness” (clause 3). The document emphasized collective responsibility, and considered all the believers responsible for implementing justice and security in the society of Madīnah. This is very important, because the Prophet did not establish any organized force, such as a police force, to pursue and punish lawbreakers.

Because punishments for crimes are sanctioned by Almighty God, it is religious duty for all believers to carry them out. This gives the rules sanctity and great strength, and prevents any possibility of people wishing to challenge them or transgress them, as in the case with human laws. The document’s emphasis on the role of the believers is clear in Clauses (13) and (31). Clause (13) reads: “The God-fearing believers shall be against the rebellious or him who seeks to spread injustice, or sin, or enmity, or corruption between believers: the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son

<sup>63</sup>Abū ‘Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, 294; Ibn al Athīr, *al Nihāyah fī Gharīb al Ḥadīth wa al Athar*, 3/279. See also al Zarqānī al Mālikī’s explanation of al Qasṭalānī’s *al Mawāhib al Laduniyyah*, 4/168; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al ‘Arab*, under *‘aqala*.

of one of them."

It relies upon the believers to stop the tyrants, aggressors, wrongdoers and those who take bribes. "Spreading injustice" means to ask for something to which one has no right.<sup>64</sup> The God-fearing believers (*al muttaqūn*) are specified as bearing responsibility because they are more answerable than others for applying the *Sharī'ah*, due to their complete faith, and because even those who basically believe may still commit sins and overstep the mark, and must be prevented from doing so.<sup>65</sup>

Clause (21) reads: "Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason shall be subject to retaliation." This means that if somebody kills without good reason, the killer should be killed in revenge, unless the family of the deceased chooses to take blood money instead of the *qiṣāṣ*, or they decide to forgive him.<sup>66</sup> Whether the family chooses to kill him in retaliation or to take the blood money, all the believers—including the family of the murderer—should cooperate in applying the judgment which has been passed upon him. No one should protect him, no matter how closely related he is to them, because "it shall not be lawful to a believer who holds by what is in this document and believes in God and the Last Day to help an evildoer or to shelter him. The curse of God and His anger on the Day of Resurrection will be upon him if he does, and neither repentance nor ransom will be received from him." The evildoer is the one who transgresses God's laws, and no one can prevent his being punished. If anyone shelters the evildoer, Allah will curse him and be angry with him. He will not accept any repentance from him for aiding the criminal, and He will not accept any ransom from him.<sup>67</sup>

The system of social security among the believers requires them to help the needy (*mufraḥ*, i.e., the one in severe debt).<sup>68</sup> If he is a prisoner of war, they are to help him by paying his ransom. If he kills accidentally, they are to pay the blood money for him, as stated in Clause (12). Ibn Sa'd suggested that the needy (*mufraḥ*) are the ones who live among a people but do not have any patrons (*mawlā*).<sup>69</sup> It is clear that help in paying blood money and in other matters results from the ties of clientage (*walā'*). If there is anybody who does not have a clan or a patron, then all the believers are his patrons and are obliged to help him. If he commits a crime, then the public treasury should pay on his behalf, because he has no clan to help him.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Ibn al Athīr, *al Nihāyah fi Gharīb al Ḥadīth wa al Athar*, 2/117; al Zarqānī's explanation of *al Mawāhib al Laduniyyah*, 4/168; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al 'Arab*, under *dasi'a*.

<sup>65</sup>al Zarqānī's explanation of *al Qastalānī's al Mawāhib al Laduniyyah*, 4/168.

<sup>66</sup>Ibn al Athīr, *al Nihāyah fi Gharīb al Ḥadīth wa al Athar*, 3/424; al Zarqānī's explanation of *al Qastalānī's al Mawāhib al Laduniyyah*, 4/168-9; al Shawkānī, *Nayl al Awṭār*, 8/61.

<sup>67</sup>Abu 'Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, 296.

<sup>68</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 1/502; Abū 'Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, 294; Ibn al Athīr, *al Nihāyah fi Gharīb al Ḥadīth wa al Athar*, 3/424; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al 'Arab*, under *fariḥa*.

<sup>69</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/486.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al 'Arab*, under *fariḥa*.

Clause (12b) confirms the principle of alliance, but this principle is not permitted to exceed the rights of clientage, which the master has over his freed slaves: no one is permitted to make an alliance with them without the permission of their ex-masters. There is a *ḥadīth* which makes it clear that Islam confirmed old alliances, but prevented the forming of any new ones. This *ḥadīth* reads: "When the Messenger of Allah conquered Makkah, he addressed the people: 'Whatever alliances existed in the time of *Jāhiliyyah*, Islam will strengthen them, but there is no alliance in Islam.'"<sup>71</sup>

Clause (14) emphasizes the superiority of the believers over the nonbelievers: "A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer." This indicates that the blood of a nonbeliever is not equal to the blood of a believer; it emphasizes the close ties and friendship among the believers, and cuts the old ties and friendship with the nonbelievers.

Clause (17) affirms: "The peace of the believers is indivisible. No separate peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God. Conditions must be fair and equitable to all." The responsibility for announcing war and peace rests not with the people but with the Prophet. If he declares war, then all the believers are in a state of war against the enemy: no one of them can make peace with the enemy, because he is bound to the common policy of the believers.<sup>72</sup> The burden of war cannot be borne by only one clan. *Jihād* is an obligation (*farḍ*) on all believers: they take turns in going out to fight.<sup>73</sup> "In every foray a rider must take another behind him" Clause (18).

Clause (15) affirms the principle of giving protection (*jiwār*) which existed before Islam, and gave every Muslim the right to give protection. No one was permitted to violate his protection. This clause also limits the close friendship of the believers, because close friendship involves love and support, so a believer should not be close friends with a nonbeliever. "Believers are friends and protectors one to the other."

O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors: they are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. . . " (*Al Mā'idah* 5:51)

Let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers rather than believers. . . . (*Āl 'Imrān* 3:28)

<sup>71</sup>Reported by Aḥmad in *al Musnad* 1/180, 2/215. Also reported by al Tirmidhī who said: "this is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*." See al Tirmidhī, *al Sunan*, as explained by Ibn al 'Arabī al Mālikī, 7/83.

<sup>72</sup>Al Zarqānī's explanation of al Qasṭalānī's *al Mawāhib al Laduniyyah*, 4/168.

<sup>73</sup>Ibn al Athīr, *al Nihāyah fī Gharīb al Ḥadīth wa al Athar*, 3/267; al Zarqānī's explanation of al Qasṭalānī's *al Mawāhib*, 4/168; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al 'Arab*, under *ʿaqaba*.



But Clause (21) prevents those people of the Aws and the Khazraj who had remained polytheists from giving protection to Quraysh and their trade and from trying to prevent the Muslims from intercepting their trade, as the Prophet was determined to pursue the policy of intercepting the trade of Quraysh. No doubt, the Muslims of the Aws and Khazraj—who were the overwhelming majority of their clans—were responsible for applying this ruling in the case of the idolaters in their clans. This commitment had previously been undertaken by the Jews when the peace treaty with them was concluded. The repetition of this text supports the view that the document is composed of two separate documents, as already stated.

It is quite possible that the document of the alliance between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* would mention treating with kindness and justice the Jews who were allied to the Muslims, and not inciting one another against them or harming them, despite the fact that the Jews were not present when these clauses were written. This is an example of the moral consistency of Islamic politics, and shows that it does not recognize deceit and backstabbing Clause (16).

Clause (23), at the end of the document dealing with the alliance between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, affirms that the Prophet is the sole point of reference for any differences which may arise among the Muslims of Madīnah: "Whenever you differ about a matter it must be referred to Allah and to Muḥammad."

## *Chapter XI*



## **The Jews' Breaking of the Treaty and Their Expulsion from Madīnah**

The Jews did not observe the treaty which the Messenger had made with them; rather, it was not long before they broke it. They did not merely neglect their duties as defined by the document, they also became aggressive. This was the reason for their expulsion from Madīnah. We will now examine this development, and the direct and indirect reasons for it.

### **The expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā'<sup>1</sup>**

The date of the campaign

Regarding the time of its occurrence, the historians agree that this action took place after Badr. Al Zuhri defined its date as being in the month of Shawwāl in the second year of the *Hijrah*. Al Wāqidī added that it took place on a Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl.<sup>2</sup>

### **The reason for the campaign**

Regarding the background of and the reason for the expulsion, the *Sīrah* sources mention that the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā' showed anger and jealousy when the Muslims were victorious at Badr, and these feelings reached the level of open hostility.

In order to appreciate the psychological atmosphere which surrounded their expulsion, certain developments must be considered. For example, the Prophet

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<sup>1</sup>I located useful material from collected reports on this subject and selected the material which was *Ṣaḥīḥ* in a thesis which was prepared, under my supervision, by al Shaykh Akram Ḥusayn 'Alī, entitled *Marwīyāt Yahūd al Madīnah* (Reports of the Jews of al Madīnah). This thesis was submitted for a master's degree in the Department of Postgraduate Studies in the Islamic University.

Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/479, 480.

Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/176.

Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/28-29.

<sup>2</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/479, 480; Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/176; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/28-29.

thought of gathering the Jews together and advising them. He did this in the market place of Banū Qaynuqā'. Addressing them, he said: "O Jews! Become Muslims before what befell the Quraysh befalls you." They said: "O Muḥammad, you seem to think that we are your people. Do not deceive yourself because you vanquished a contingent of Quraysh having no knowledge of war and got the better of them; for, by God, if we fight you, you will find that we are real men, and that you have not met the like of us." Their answer clearly contained a challenge and a threat, despite the fact that they had accepted his leadership according to the terms of the treaty. This report comes through Ibn Ishāq.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥajar said that it was *ḥasan*.<sup>4</sup> But the *isnād* includes Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, the freedman of Zayd ibn Thābit, whom Ibn Ḥajar himself said was *majhūl* (unknown).<sup>5</sup>

Even if we accept Ibn Ḥajar's suggestion that the report is *ḥasan*, that does not mean that the reason for the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā' was their refusal to accept Islam, because at that stage Islam still allowed the Muslims to live in peace with them, and the Prophet did not make entering Islam a condition for any one of the Jews to stay in Madīnah. Rather, the Document<sup>6</sup> ensured the religious freedom of the Jews. The reason for their expulsion was the aggression which they showed. This resulted in a breach of the internal security of Madīnah.

There is a report which says that one of the Banū Qaynuqā' tied the hem of the garment of a Muslim woman who was in their market-place, in such a way that when she stood up, she was uncovered and she screamed. One of the Muslims came and killed the Jew who had done it. Then the Jews attacked the Muslim and killed him. The Muslim's family called on the rest of the Muslims to help them against the Jews. The Muslims became angry, and bad feelings arose between them and the Banū Qaynuqā'. This is a *ḍa'if* report since its *isnād* is broken between Ibn Hishām and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al Makhramī, and ends with a lesser *tābi'ī*, Abū 'Awn, whose status (in *ḥadīth*) is not known. But this report could be taken into consideration as regards history, and most *Sirah* sources include it.<sup>7</sup> It describes the chain of events leading up to the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā'. Their refusal to enter Islam was not the reason for their expulsion; the true reason was their breach of security and open hostility, which convinced the Messenger that it was impossible to live with them in peace.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 294; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 3/402-3.

<sup>4</sup>*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/332.

<sup>5</sup>*Al Taqrīb*, 2/205.

<sup>6</sup>See the thesis: "Announcement of the Constitution . . ."

<sup>7</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/561; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 1/176-7; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 4/3-4; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 1/295.

## The siege

The report of the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā' is *ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>8</sup> Ibn Ishāq (in a report from 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah) and al Wāqidī (without *isnād*) give details of the Muslims' siege of Banū Qaynuqā'. The historians and *Sīrah* writers followed them in reporting this event, in spite of the fact that these details had not been proved *ṣaḥīḥ* from the point of view of *ḥadīth*. But the details of the siege are among the materials which the *ḥadīth* scholars allowed to be transmitted and which can be relied upon according to the methods of historical criticism, which do not make it a condition that the *isnād* should be *ṣaḥīḥ*. These reports can be relied upon for historical study. However, if they pertain to aspects of Islamic belief and law, such reports cannot be relied upon as evidence unless they are *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḥasan*.

The reports of the siege of Banū Qaynuqā' tell us that the Qaynuqā' Jews were allies of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, that they were the bravest of the Jews, and that they were goldsmiths. When they displayed open hostility and hatred, the Prophet was afraid that they might betray him. He appointed Abū Lubābah ibn 'Abd al Mundhir to rule in Madīnah in his absence, appointed Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib to carry the white flag, and besieged Banū Qaynuqā' for 15 days, until the beginning of Dhū al Qa'dah. Then he intensified the siege against them, and they agreed to accept the judgment of the Messenger that he should take their wealth and they should keep their women and children. He ordered that the Qaynuqā' Jews should be tied up. Then their ally 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl spoke to him about them and pestered him, saying: "400 men without armor, and 300 with armor protected me from the red and the black (i.e., every one), and you want to kill them all in one day." The Messenger of Allah said: "They are yours."<sup>9</sup> He ordered that they should be expelled from Madīnah, and the one responsible for carrying out this order was 'Ubādah ibn al Ṣāmit. The Jews went to Adhra'āt. The one responsible for seizing their wealth was Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al Anṣārī. It was shared among the companions as booty, after one-fifth of it had been taken for the Messenger.<sup>10</sup> The following verses of the Qur'ān were revealed concerning the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā':

<sup>8</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11.

<sup>9</sup>The words of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy were reported by Ibn Ishāq from 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar, and the *isnād* ends with him (Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 2/562/3). 'Āṣim is one of the lesser *tābi'ūn*. The report is *ḍa'īf* according to the standards of the *ḥadīth* scholars, but it is the kind of *khabar* that is allowed to be transmitted. Its importance is derived from its mentioning the number of warriors of Banū Qaynuqā'.

<sup>10</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/176-7; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/29.

Say to those who reject faith: 'Soon will you be vanquished and gathered together in Hell—an evil bed indeed (to lie on)! There has already been for you a sign in the two armies that met (in combat): one was fighting in the cause of God, the other resisting God. . . ' (*Āl Imrān* 3:12-13).

Some of the commentators of the Qur'ān transmitted the opinion that the following verse was revealed concerning 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy's close friendship with the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā':

O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors: they are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily, Allah guides not a people unjust. (*Al Mā'idah* 5:54).

At the same time, 'Ubādah ibn al Ṣāmit announced that he was disowning his Jewish allies in favor of Allah and His Messenger: "O Messenger of Allah, I have many close friends among the Jews, but I am disowning the friendship of the Jews and turning to Allah and His Messenger. I take only Allah and His Messenger for close friends."

There is a clear difference between 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy, whose heart was full of hypocrisy, and 'Ubādah ibn al Ṣāmit, whose personality had been refined under the teaching of the Prophet, which had rid him of all traces of pre-Islamic tribal loyalty, *Jāhili Aṣabiyyah* desires, and personal interests. He considered the interests of faith and gave them priority over his own interests. He was a good example of the conscientious and committed believer.

### The killing of Ka'b ibn al Ashraf

The majority of the scholars suggested that the killing of Ibn al Ashraf took place after Badr and before the campaign against Banū al Naḍīr. Al Wāqidī gave the exact date when he said that it took place in the third year, on the 14th of Rabī' al Awwal, at the beginning of the 25th month of the *hijrah*.<sup>11</sup> Ka'b ibn al Ashraf's father was an Arab from Ṭayy' and his mother was 'Aqīlah bint Abū al Ḥaḥīq from Banū al Naḍīr. The father had made an alliance with the Ṭayy' and had married one of them. Ka'b was a poet who declared

<sup>11</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/184.

himself the enemy of Islam.<sup>12</sup> The victory of the Muslims at Badr irritated and angered him, and he visited Makkah, where he used to lampoon the Prophet and incite the disbelieving Quraysh against him;<sup>13</sup> lamenting the killing of the idolaters at Badr. Then he returned to Madīnah, and composed verses vilifying and slandering Muslim women.<sup>14</sup> So the Prophet ordered that he should be killed. Al Bukhārī gave a detailed report of his killing, the gist of which is as follows: Muḥammad ibn Maslamah al Anṣārī showed his readiness to carry out the Prophet's order. He asked and was given permission by the Prophet to trick Ka'b, who by his actions, declared war against the Muslims, and his blood could be shed with impunity by any Muslim. So Muḥammad ibn Maslamah went to Ka'b and asked him to lend him some dates, so that he could pay them to the Messenger, grumbling to Ka'b about the demands which he (the Messenger) made of them (the Muslims). Ka'b wanted to take as collateral some of his womenfolk or children, but Muḥammad ibn Maslamah refused, because of the shame which would come upon them. He suggested that he should take a weapon as collateral instead, and Ka'b agreed. Muḥammad ibn Maslamah came at night with another companion, Abū Nā'ilah, who was the foster brother (*raḍā'ah*) of Ka'b. There were three other companions with them. They called him, and he came down to them and walked with them. Following their prearranged plan they pretended to smell the perfume in his hair, then they attacked him with their swords. The attack was so fierce that one of them was cut by the swords of his companions.<sup>15</sup> The Jews complained about the killing, so the Messenger explained to them about Ka'b's hostility and slander. The Jews and the remaining unbelievers were terrified by what had happened, and they feared for themselves. The Messenger invited them to draw up a treaty between them and himself, and a general document was written, as related by Abū Dāwūd in a report which is conclusive enough to serve as historical evidence, and is confirmed by other reports.<sup>16</sup> It appears that this document was written to affirm the treaty between the Muslims and the Jews which had been written before Badr, and after the killing of Ibn al Ashraf had aroused the fears of the Jews.

The killing of Ibn al Ashraf might be seen as an act of treachery, but on further reflection one realizes that Ibn al Ashraf was party to the treaty according to the Document by which the Jews of Banū al Naḍīr and others were committed. By slandering the Prophet, who was the head of state, and by showing his sympathy for the enemies of the Muslims (lamenting their dead

<sup>12</sup>See Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/564; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/337.

<sup>13</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 3/402.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/564-5. It has a *ḍa'if isnād* which ends with one of the lesser *ṭabī'ūn*, but what we have transmitted is valid and is supported by other *ṣaḥīḥ* reports.

<sup>15</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/52-62.

<sup>16</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 3/402; al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/462-4; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/195-6; see also, Ibn Ishāq, *al Sirah* 199-200, with a *ḥasan isnād*.



and inciting them against the Muslims), Ibn al Ashraf had broken the treaty and declared war on the Muslims, and his blood could be shed with impunity. As for his being deceived and killed by those he had trusted, such action is legally permissible (*jā'iz*) in the case of those who have declared war on the Muslims, and it was carried out by order of the Messenger.<sup>17</sup> The Messenger, however, did not blame Banū al Naḍīr for Ibn al Ashraf's crime; it was sufficient to have him killed for his treachery. The Prophet, in fact, renewed his treaty with them (Banū al Naḍīr). It seems, however, that the killing of Ka'b had a deep effect on their minds inasmuch as they continued plotting against Islam, despite the fact that they had renewed the treaty. Fear, not good intentions, had forced them to renew the treaty, as the following events will show.

### The Expulsion of Banū al Naḍīr

#### The date of the campaign

Two reports, each with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnad*, mention that the campaign against Banū al Naḍīr took place after the Battle of Badr.

1. The first was reported by al Zuhri, who said: "Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik informed me from one of the companions of the Prophet."<sup>18</sup>
2. The second was reported by 'Urwah from 'Ā'ishah,<sup>19</sup> despite the fact that al Bayhaqī said that 'Ā'ishah was not specifically mentioned (*ghayr mahfūz*). But al Dhahabī said that she was mentioned. I think that the name has been added by a reliable scholar, and this is acceptable. Al Bayhaqī is the only one who mentions the reasons for this report being *mursal*. There is a *mursal* report from 'Urwah that this campaign took place six months after Badr.<sup>20</sup>

Al Bayhaqī transmitted another report from 'Urwah which indicated that the campaign took place in Muḥarram of the third year AH. This agrees with the first report, because Badr occurred on 17th Ramaḍān in the second year AH. This information was also transmitted by Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah.<sup>21</sup> 'Urwah

<sup>17</sup>See al Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil al Āḥār*.

<sup>18</sup>'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/357; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 2/139-26, *Kitāb al Kharāj wa al Fay' wa al Imārah*.

<sup>19</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/483, *Kitāb al Tafṣīr*.

<sup>20</sup>'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/357.

<sup>21</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/446-450; Abū Nu'aym, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/176-7.

is a second generation Muslim (*tābiṭ*) of great stature and Mūsā is a *tābiṭ* of lesser stature. The *isnād* which goes back to them includes some men whose biographies I could not find, otherwise the report would be *ḥasan*.

Ibn Ishāq reported that the campaign took place in the fourth year of the *hijrah*.<sup>22</sup> Al Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd relate without *isnād*, that it happened in Rabi' al Awwal, 37 months after the *hijrah*.<sup>23</sup> Ibn Hishām agrees with them that it took place in Rabi' al Awwal.<sup>24</sup> Most of the *Sīrah* writers followed Ibn Ishāq in giving the date of the campaign. Ibn al Qayyim is sure that al Zuhri was either confused or mistaken in saying that it happened six months after Badr. He does not doubt that it took place after Uḥud, and in saying so he favors the report of the majority of *Sīrah* and *Maghāzī* writers.<sup>25</sup> Ibn Ḥajar thinks that what 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Abd Allāh ibn Kā'b mentioned is stronger than what Ibn Ishāq mentioned from the aspect of *ḥadīth* soundness (*ṣiḥḥah*). But he also thinks that if it can be proved that the reason for the expulsion of Banū al Naḍir was connected with the collecting of blood money for the two men of Banū 'Āmir who had accidentally been killed, then we should accept Ibn Ishāq's verdict, because all the scholars are agreed that the incident at Bi'r Ma'unah took place after Uḥud.<sup>26</sup>

Other accounts with regard to the date of the campaign are reported in the commentary of the Qur'ānic verse:

O you who believe! Call in remembrance the favor of God unto you when certain men formed the design to stretch out their hands against you, but God held back their hands from you: so fear God. And on God let believers put (all) their trust" (*Al Mā'idah* 5:12).

The reports say that this was revealed concerning Banū al Naḍir when they were on the point of killing the Prophet, and Allah rescued him by His grace. There is some weakness in this account, but when that is put together with other accounts, they support each other and can be accepted as valid evidence.<sup>27</sup> These chronicles support what Ibn Ishāq suggested, but still the question remains without a definite answer: when did the campaign against Banū al Naḍir take place? Ibn Ḥajar did not give a definite opinion on the matter, despite the fact that he had studied the reports and decided which one was the

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/683; al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11, *Mu'allaq* from Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>23</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/363; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/57.

<sup>24</sup>*Al Sīrah*, 3/683.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/110.

<sup>26</sup>*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 6/388-9.

<sup>27</sup>See *isnāds* in al Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh al Rusul*, 6/146-7) some of which end with Yazid ibn Rūmān. Some include Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al Rāzī, who is weak, and Salamah ibn al Faḍl al Abrashī. *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, by al Bayhaqī, 3/446-8, with two *isnāds* going back to 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah (the two *isnāds* end with them).

Ibn Kathīr, *al Tafsīr*, 3/31, transmitted from Ibn Ishāq, Mujahid and 'Ikrimah.

strongest, and he stated that Ibn Ishāq's report could be accepted if it were proved that the campaign against Banū al Naḍīr was connected to the killing of the two men from Banū 'Āmir. It seems that the abundance of reports, despite their weakness, support Ibn Ishāq's verdict. This explains why Ibn Ḥajar did not give a definite opinion. The method of dealing with historical reports is more flexible in applying the rules of *ḥadīth* taking into consideration the specialization of other scholars, and respects the suggestions of the scholars of *Maghāzī*.

## The reasons for the campaign

The sources mention three reasons for the campaign:

1. The attempt of Banū al Naḍīr to kill the Messenger after the Battle of Badr. The sources mention two attempts. The first attempt came after Quraysh had written to Banū al Naḍīr, threatening to wage war on them if they did not fight the Messenger. Banū al Naḍīr complied with their wish and resolved to use treachery. The Jews sent a message to the Prophet, inviting him to come out with 30 of his companions to meet them. They promised to come out with a similar number of their rabbis, to a place in the center of Madīnah, where they would listen to him: if the rabbis believed what he said, then all the Jews would convert. When the two parties approached each other, the Jews suggested that the Prophet and three of his companions should meet with three of their rabbis, and if he convinced them, then Banū al Naḍīr would convert. The three rabbis were carrying daggers, but one of the Jewish women whose brother was a Muslim told him about their plans. He told the Prophet who turned back and did not go to meet them. Then he besieged them until they accepted expulsion, on the condition that they could take with them whatever their camels could carry, except weapons; they even took the doors of their houses. The *isnād* of this report includes men who are reliable; the name of the companion is not known, but this does not affect the validity of this *isnād* (because all the companions are reliable).<sup>28</sup>

2. The second attempt was reported by Ibn Ishāq, who was followed by most of the other *Sīrah* writers. The Prophet went to Banū al Naḍīr to ask them for help in paying the blood money for two men from a tribe which was party to the treaty, whom 'Amr ibn Umayyah al Ḍamarī had killed by mistake following the incident of al Raji'. When he came to Banū al Naḍīr, he sat down against a wall. They were about to drop a rock onto him and kill him, but he

<sup>28</sup>Abd al Razzaq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/359-60; see also, Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/331; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/139-40, *Kitāb al Kharāj wa al Fay' wa al Imārah*.

learnt of that through divine inspiration. He left them quickly and went back to Madīnah, and he ordered that they should be besieged. They agreed to a peace treaty after a siege lasting six days, on the condition that they could take with them whatever their camels could carry.<sup>29</sup> The *isnād* of this report ends with Yazīd ibn Rūmān, who is a lesser *tabiʿī*, but it could be strengthened by other similar reports. Indeed, it was followed by the report of ʿUrwah ibn al Zubayr in the *Maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah.<sup>30</sup> Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah was a writer of *Maghāzī* who added to what Ibn Ishāq had said: "Banū al Naḍīr had plotted with Quraysh, encouraged them to fight the Messenger of Allah, and had told them of the Muslims' weak points."<sup>31</sup>

Despite the fact that ʿAbd al Razzāq's report is stronger in its *isnād* than that of Ibn Ishāq, the *Sīrah* writers preferred the latter. Both reports attribute the Muslims' siege of Banū al Naḍīr to their attempt to kill the Prophet by treachery. Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah does not say exactly when the Jews committed such acts against the Muslims as intrigue, incitement, and giving information to Quraysh. It is well-known that they incited the disbelievers to fight the Muslims—this resulted in the Battle of Uḥud—and that they helped Abū Sufyān to attack the outskirts of Madīnah, which caused the Muslims to pursue him after Uḥud in a campaign known as *Ghazwat al Suwayq*. The poems which Kaʿb ibn al Ashraf al Naḍarī composed to incite Quraysh to make war on the Muslims are well known. Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah's reference to these events in his report was probably intended to give an indication of the deterioration of the relationship between the Muslims and Banū al Naḍīr, and that it came to an end when they attempted treachery. This was a direct cause of their being besieged, but it was preceded by a succession of aggressive acts.

### The Prophet's warning of expulsion to Banū al Naḍīr

There is no report which is *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view, which refers to the Prophet's warning Banū al Naḍīr of expulsion. However, their actual expulsion is proved in a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* which was reported by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar.<sup>32</sup> The warning was mentioned by al Wāqidī and Ibn Saʿd—without *isnād*—who said that the Prophet asked them to leave Madīnah within ten days; anyone who was seen after that would be beheaded. They prepared to leave, but ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl incited them to rebel and stay, and he promised to support them. They announced their rebellion, and the Muslims

<sup>29</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *al Sīrah*, 3/191.

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/331.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 7/332.

<sup>32</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/159.

besieged them.<sup>33</sup> Two reports—both with *isnāds* ending with ‘Urwah ibn al Zubayr and Mūsā ibn ‘Uqbah, and containing narrators whose biographies I could not find—mention the Prophet’s warning the Banū al Naḍīr that they would be expelled.<sup>34</sup> Most of the books of *Sīrah* report this warning without giving any *isnād*.<sup>35</sup> Despite the fact that the attitude of the hypocrites (in supporting Banū al Naḍīr) is only mentioned in weak reports which cannot be taken as valid evidence, it can be proved by many *ṣaḥīḥ* reports to have been revealed concerning Banū al Naḍīr.<sup>36</sup>

### The siege of Banū al Naḍīr and their Expulsion Agreement

There is enough evidence to make *ṣaḥīḥ* the report that the Messenger of Allah besieged Banū al Naḍīr and said: “I will not guarantee your safety unless you make a treaty with me and promise to adhere to it.” They refused to make a treaty with him, so the Messenger led the Muslims in fighting them all day. The next day, he left Banū al Naḍīr and came to Banū Qurayzah with soldiers on horseback. He invited Banū Qurayzah to make a treaty with him; they did so and then he left them. The following day he came to Banū al Naḍīr with the soldiers, and fought them until they agreed to accept expulsion, on the condition that they could take with them whatever their camels could carry, except weapons. Banū al Naḍīr came and took with them as many of their possessions as their camels could carry, including the doors of their houses; they destroyed their houses and took from them the choicest wood.<sup>37</sup>

It is stated in the Qur’ān<sup>38</sup> and *hadīth*<sup>39</sup> that the Prophet burnt and cut down some of Banū al Naḍīr’s palm trees during the siege.

<sup>33</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/363-70, but al Wāqidī is *matrūk*; Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/682, without *isnād*; Ibn Sa’d, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/57-8, without *isnād*; al Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al Nubuwwah*, 3/446-50, with two *isnāds* which include four men who are *majhūl*.

<sup>34</sup>al Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al Nubuwwah*, 3/446-8; Abū Nu’aym, *Dalā’il al Nubuwwah*, 3/176-7. Their *isnāds* include Abū Ja’far Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al Baghdādī, Abū ‘Alāqah Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn Khālīd, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Itāb and al Qāsim ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al Mughīrah; I did not find their biographies, but the other men in the two *isnāds* are reliable (*thiqah*).

<sup>35</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 3/334-5; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 3/48; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 3/45, and others.

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Athar*, 2/49; Ibn Kathīr, *al Tafṣīr*, 4/330; al Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al Nuqūl fī Asbāb al Nuzūl*, 214.

<sup>37</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/358-361; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 3/404-7; al Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al Nubuwwah*, 3/446-8; see also, Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/331.

<sup>38</sup>*Sūrat al Ḥaṣhr* (59:5): “Whatever you cut down (O you Muslims) the tender palm trees, or you left them standing on their roots, it was by leave of Allah . . .”

<sup>39</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11, 143; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 3/36; al Tirmidhī, *al Sunan* (with the commentary *Tuḥfat al Aḥwadhī*), 5/157-8; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 3/948-9.

The expulsion treaty confirmed that the Jews' blood would be spared, that they would be expelled from their homes, and that they would be permitted to take with them whatever possessions and wealth their camels could carry, with the exception of weapons, which they were to leave for the Muslims. It is possible to reconcile the *ṣaḥīḥ* reports which say that they were expelled to Syria,<sup>40</sup> with Ibn Sa'd's report<sup>41</sup> that they went to Khaybar, when we understand that their leaders, such as Huyayy ibn Akhtab, Ṣalām ibn Abū al Ḥaḥīq, Kinānah ibn al Rabī and others went to Khaybar, while most of them went to Syria. Ibn Sa'd's report is weak and without *isnād*, but it is proved by later events which are mentioned in strong reports, such as reports of their fighting at the Battle of Khaybar, of the killing of Kinānah and of the capture of Ṣafīyah, and the report about Ṣalām ibn Abū al Ḥaḥīq. The reports can be reconciled by the explanation that Banū al Naḍīr were expelled to Syria, and some of them settled in Khaybar. Ibn Ishāq suggested this.<sup>42</sup> Two men from Banū al Naḍīr had become Muslims, so they kept their possessions; they were Yāmīn ibn 'Umar ibn Ka'b and Abū Sa'd ibn Wahb.<sup>43</sup> The wealth and palm trees of Banū al Naḍīr were exclusively for the Messenger according to the text of the Qur'ān.<sup>44</sup> He spent some of the income from it on his family every year, and used what was left to buy weapons and horses in readiness for fighting for the cause of Allah. The Prophet distributed the Jews' land among the *Muhājirūn*; he gave land to only two *Anṣār* — Sahl ibn Ḥanīf and Abū Dujānah Sammāk ibn Kharashah—because they were poor.<sup>45</sup>

The expulsion of Banū al Naḍīr led to the collapse of power of the Jews and the hypocrites in Madīnah. The Qurayzah renewed the treaty with the Muslims during the siege of the Banū al Naḍīr, and showed their willingness to adhere to the treaty until the Battle of the Ditch. The hypocrites did not fulfill their promise of support to Banū al Naḍīr, and the Jews realized the futility of relying on the hypocrites.

Islam became stronger by getting rid of Banū al Naḍīr and benefitting from their lands which were given to the *Muhājirūn*, who had previously relied on the lands and houses of the *Anṣār*.

<sup>40</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/358-361.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Sa'd *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/58.

<sup>42</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/683, without *isnād*. It is strengthened by what is in al Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/446-9, with an *isnād* going back to 'Urwah and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah. The two *isnāds* mention men whose biographies I could not find.

<sup>43</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/683, with an *isnād* going back to 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr.

<sup>44</sup>"What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from them—for this you made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry: but God gives power to His Apostle over any He pleases: and God has power over all things." (*al Ḥashr* 59:6). *Sūrat al Ḥashr* was revealed concerning Banū al Naḍīr (*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/131 and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 8/345).

<sup>45</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/358-361; Abū Dāūd, *al Sunan*, 3/404-7; see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 7/331 and Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/683-4.

### Banū al Naḍīr's incitement of the *Mushrikūn*

The Jews of Banū al Naḍīr continued to hate the Muslims: this hatred led them to incite the disbelievers of the Quraysh and other tribes to attack Madīnah in the Battle of the Ditch. Several reports have been transmitted which are weak either because they are *mursal* or *munqaṭi'*, or because one of the narrators in the *isnād* is *majhūl*.<sup>46</sup> But when these reports are put together, they can be taken as evidence, and they strengthen one another. The reports go back to 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr, 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm, Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah. Some of them gave the names of the inciters from Banū al Naḍīr and Ibn Ishāq mentioned some of them: Salām ibn Abū al Ḥaḳīq, Kinānah ibn Abū al Ḥaḳīq al Naḍarī and Ḥuyayy ibn Akṭab al Naḍarī.<sup>47</sup>

### The Expulsion of Banū al Qurayẓah

#### The date of the campaign

The action against Banū Qurayẓah took place at the end of Dhū al Qādah and the beginning of Dhū al Ḥijjah in the fifth year,<sup>48</sup> after the Battle of the Ditch, which took place in Shawwāl of the fifth year AH, according to Qatādah, 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr, Ibn Ishāq and 'Abd al Razzāq.<sup>49</sup> Imām Mālik and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah suggested that the Battle of the Ditch took place in Shawwāl of the fourth year. Ibn Ḥazm suggested the same. The three of them drew their conclusion from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar which said that the Prophet would not let him fight at the Battle of the Ditch, when he was 15.<sup>50</sup>

Al Bayhaqī showed that it was possible to reconcile the two suggestions. He said: "In fact, there is no difference between them, because they meant that it took place after four years had passed and before the fifth year was completed." Al Zuhri declared that the Battle of the Ditch took place two years after Uḥud. All are agreed that Uḥud took place in Shawwāl of the third year, except for those who suggested that the *hijrah* calendar should begin from Muḥarram of the year following the emigration, and did not take into consideration the months which remained in the year of the *hijrah*, from Rabī' al Awwal onwards, as al Bayhaqī mentions. Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān al Fasawī suggested that Badr took place in the first year, Uḥud in the second year, Badr al Maw'id in Sha'bān of the third year, and the Battle of the Ditch in Shawwāl of the fourth year. This contradicts the opinion of the majority of scholars. It is well known that 'Umar decreed that the *hijrah* calendar should start from

<sup>46</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/700-1; 'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/368-373; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/65-6; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/412-4.

<sup>47</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/700-701.

<sup>48</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/74; Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/715; Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 3/593; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Aḥbar*, 3/68.

<sup>49</sup>'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/367; Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/699; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/143: he attributed it to al Ṭabarānī and said that the men in the *isnād* are *thiqah*.

<sup>50</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/33, 73; see also Mālik's suggestion.

Muḥarram of the year in which the emigration took place, and according to Mālik, that it should start from Rabī' al Awwal of that year.

There are three opinions, but the opinion of the majority, that Uḥud took place in the third year, and that the Battle of the Ditch took place in Shawwāl of the fifth year, is authentic.

Some of the scholars, including al Bayhaqī, explained the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Umar by saying that at the Battle of Uḥud he had only just turned 14, whereas at the Battle of the Ditch he was 15 going on 16. This is reasonable, because when the Battle of Uḥud ended, the two sides agreed to meet at Badr for another battle in the following year (Badr al Maw'id), but it did not happen. Al Bayhaqī said: "It is nonsense to say that they came to besiege Madīnah two months later."<sup>51</sup>

### The reason for the campaign

The reason for the campaign goes back to Banū Qurayzah's breaking of the treaty between themselves and the Prophet. This has been proved from different reports which, when taken together, could be used as valid evidence. Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab al Naḍarī<sup>52</sup> incited them to break the treaty at a critical time when the Muslims were being besieged by 10,000 warriors from the various tribes. There is a strong report that the Prophet sent al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām<sup>53</sup> to check on Banū Qurayzah, then he sent Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah and Khawwāt ibn Jubayr<sup>54</sup> to check whether the rumors about the treachery of Banū Qurayzah were true. These four confirmed the rumors, and this news distressed the Muslims.

Ibn Ishāq gave a detailed report—without *isnād*—of the treachery of Banū Qurayzah and their breaking of the treaty. Most of the *Sīrah* writers also reported it without *isnād*.<sup>55</sup>

Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah mentions—also without *isnad*—that Qurayzah asked Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab to take 90 men from the nobles of Quraysh and Ghatafān as hostages, so the Quraysh would not leave Madīnah before they had destroyed the Muslims. Ḥuyayy agreed to that, so they announced their breaking of the treaty.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 4/93-4; and *al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah*, 3/180-1; Ibn Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 388-9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 7/393.

<sup>52</sup>'Abd al Razzaq reported this from the *mursal ḥadīth* of Sa'id ibn al Musayyab, which are the most *ṣaḥīḥ mursal ḥadīth*. The report is valid as evidence, if there are other reports which support it (*al Muṣannaf*, 5/368-373). Abū Nu'aym, from the *mursal ḥadīth* of Sa'id also (Abū Nu'aym, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/183).

<sup>53</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/306; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7/138.

<sup>54</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/706, without *isnād*.

<sup>55</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 3/454-9; Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 3/570-3; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 187-8; Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Durar*, 181-3; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *Uyūn al Aḥar*, 3/59-60; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 3/103-4.

<sup>56</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 3/103-4.



The Prophet was commanded by God to fight Banū Qurayzah after he returned from the Battle of the Ditch,<sup>57</sup> so the Prophet ordered his companions to go to Qurayzah straight away, and tell them that God had sent Jibrīl to shake their strongholds and strike fear into their hearts,<sup>58</sup> and instructed them that no one was to pray *ʿAṣr* before they reached Banū Qurayzah (Bukhārī;<sup>59</sup> Muslim<sup>60</sup> says *Zuḥr*). The time for *ʿAṣr* came, and some were still on their way to Banū Qurayzah, so some of them prayed, and some of them delayed their prayer, but the Prophet did not blame either group, because they had tried their best to understand what he wanted them to do. Those who had delayed the *ʿAṣr* prayed it after *ʿIshāʾ*, as Ibn Ishāq explained.<sup>61</sup>

The scholars reconcile the reports of al Bukhārī and Muslim by suggesting the possibility that some of them had already prayed *Zuḥr* before the order came, while some had not, so the Prophet ordered those who had not yet prayed not to pray, and ordered those who had already prayed not to pray *ʿAṣr*. It is also possible that two groups were sent out separately: the first group was told not to pray *Zuḥr* and the second was told not to pray *ʿAṣr*.<sup>62</sup>

The Prophet went out to Banū Qurayzah, and appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Umm Maktūm<sup>63</sup> to govern Madīnah in his absence. This report could be accepted even though it has not been proved to be *ṣaḥīḥ*.

There are many *mursal* traditions (*āthār*) which strengthen one another to the level of *ḥasan li ghayriḥ*, and which say that ʿAlī was sent to carry the flag at the head of the army.<sup>64</sup>

The reports differ as to whether the siege of Banū Qurayzah lasted for a month,<sup>65</sup> 25 days,<sup>66</sup> 15 days,<sup>67</sup> or any number of days between 10 and 18.<sup>68</sup> The strongest evidence shows that it was twenty-five days; most of the *Maghāzī* writers favor this version, following Ibn Ishāq.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>57</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/24; Ahmad, *al Musnad*, 6/56, 131, 280.

<sup>58</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/24, 144.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 3/24.

<sup>60</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/163.

<sup>61</sup>Ibn Hisham, *al Sirah*, 3/716-7, from the *mursal ḥadīth* of Maʿbad ibn Kaʿb ibn Malik, who is *maqbūl*.

<sup>62</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/408-9.

<sup>63</sup>Ibn Hisham, *al Sirah*, 3/716; Ibn Saʿd, *al Tabaqāt*, 3/74 (both without *isnād*).

<sup>64</sup>Ibn Hisham, *al Sirah*, 3/716; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/413.

<sup>65</sup>Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/583, the narrator himself said that he was unsure as to whether it was a month or 25 days.

<sup>66</sup>Al Sāʿatī, *al Fath al Rabbānī li Tarrīb Musnad al Imām Ahmad*, 21/81-3. All the narrators are reliable.

<sup>67</sup>Ibn Saʿd, *al Tabaqāt*, 3/74, without *isnād*.

<sup>68</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah*, 4/118-9; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/413; *mursal* from Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah from al Zuhri.

<sup>69</sup>Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/583; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmiʿ al Sirah*, 193; Ibn ʿAbd al Barr, *al Durar*, 189; Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *ʿUyūn al Athar*, 2/69.

## The success of the siege and the fate of Banū Qurayẓah

When the siege intensified and became unbearable for Banū Qurayẓah, they wanted to surrender and accept whatever judgment the Prophet passed on them. They consulted Abū Lubābah ibn 'Abd al Mundhir, one of the companions of the Prophet who was also their ally, and he indicated that if they surrendered, they would be killed. Abū Lubābah later regretted saying this, and tied himself to one of the pillars in the Prophet's Mosque until his repentance was accepted.<sup>70</sup>

Banū Qurayẓah agreed to accept the judgment of Sa'd ibn Mu'adh; they thought that he would show mercy to them, because of the alliance between them and his people, al Aws.

Sa'd was carried to them, because he had been wounded in the hand by an arrow at the Battle of the Ditch, and was ill. He judged that the warriors should be killed, and their wealth shared. The Messenger confirmed this and said: "You have judged according to God's judgment."<sup>71</sup> By doing this, Sa'd ibn Mu'adh disowned his alliance with Banū Qurayẓah. This did not disturb the Aws at all, despite their alliance with Banū Qurayẓah and the fact that they had only recently entered Islam. Their acceptance of this was facilitated by the fact that their leader Sa'd passed judgment on Banū Qurayẓah. The number of warriors who were executed was 400.<sup>72</sup> Three of Banū Qurayẓah were spared because they entered Islam,<sup>73</sup> and they kept their wealth; three others may have been spared because they were protected by some of the companions because of their loyalty to the treaty during the siege. There are many reports dealing with this, but they cannot be taken as valid evidence. The prisoners were detained in the house of Bint al Hārith.<sup>74</sup> The executions were carried out in the market place in Madīnah, where trenches were dug; they were killed in groups and thrown into the trenches.<sup>75</sup> Only one of their women was killed;<sup>76</sup> she had killed one of the companions—Khālīd ibn Suwayd—by dropping a millstone on him.

<sup>70</sup>Al Sā'atī, *al Faṭḥ al Rabbānī*, 21/81-3, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>71</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/210, 3/24-25; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/160-1.

<sup>72</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/350, with a *ḥasan isnād*. Ibn Hajar (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/14) mentioned the differences in their numbers, ranging from 400 to 900, and reconciled the different reports by saying that the increase included the followers of Banū Qurayẓah, such as slaves, freedmen, and others.

<sup>73</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/159. The three who entered Islam were: Tha'labah ibn Sa'iyah, Usayd ibn Sa'iyah and Asad ibn 'Ubayd.

<sup>74</sup>This is the report of Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/721). 'Urwah mentions it was the house of Usamah ibn Zayd. The reports can be reconciled by saying that the prisoners were put in two houses because of their great numbers.

<sup>75</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/351; al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 4/144-5.

<sup>76</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/722; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 6/277; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 2/150 (its *isnād* is *ḥasan li dhātih*).

Boys below the age of puberty were released.<sup>77</sup> After the execution of the warriors had been carried out, the Prophet divided their wealth and appointed the women to the custody of the Muslims.<sup>78</sup> The books of *Maghāzī* give some detail of how the division was carried out, but their reports cannot be taken as valid evidence.

The Messenger chose Rayḥānah ibn Khanāfah, one of the women prisoners, for himself, according to Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Sa'd and many others. Al Wāqidī and those who followed him said that he married her, but the first suggestion is more likely.

Some contemporary historians tend to deny and weaken the reports dealing with the punishment faced by Banū Qurayzah,<sup>79</sup> on the basis that proving these reports may hurt humanitarian feelings or serve the interests of Zionist propaganda, but this is not the case. The most authentic Islamic sources prove that it happened. The severe punishments were only given because of the acts of high treason which Banū Qurayzah committed when they betrayed the Muslims and broke the treaty, instead of participating with them in defending Madīnah, in accordance with the treaty between the two sides. In this day and age, nations still execute traitors who cooperate with the enemy.

The punishment of Banū Qurayzah fitted their crime, because they had exposed the Muslims to the threat of being killed, their wealth to the threat of being seized, and their women and children to the threat of being taken prisoner; therefore, their punishment was a fitting recompense. There is no need to avoid historical facts or to deny authentic reports.

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<sup>77</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/724; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/72-7.

<sup>78</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/11; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/159.

<sup>79</sup>See the research of Dr. Walid 'Arafāt in the papers of the World *Sirah* Conference in Qatar.

## ***Chapter XII***



## The Conquest of Khaybar<sup>1</sup> and of the Remaining Jewish Strongholds in al Ḥijāz

Khaybar is an agricultural oasis situated approximately 165 kilometers to the north of Madīnah,<sup>2</sup> at an altitude of 850 m above sea level. It is the second largest *Ḥarrah* in Arabia, after the *Ḥarrah* Banū Salīm.<sup>3</sup> Khaybar enjoys fertile land and abundant water, hence it was famous for having many palm trees, apart from the corn and fruits it produced. For this reason it was known as the garden of the Ḥijāz, because of its fertility, impregnability, and livestock. There was a market place in Khaybar called Sūq al Naṭāh, which was guarded by the tribe of Ghatafān, who considered Khaybar to be within their borders.<sup>4</sup>

Because of its economic position, many merchants and craftsmen lived there, and there was much money-changing activity.

Before the conquest, Khaybar was inhabited by a mixture of Arabs and Jews. The number of Jews increased after the expulsion of the Jews from Madīnah at the time of the Prophet.<sup>5</sup>

The Jews of Khaybar did not show any hostility toward the Muslims until the leaders of Banū al Naḍīr settled among them. These leaders had been deeply hurt by their expulsion from their homes. The expulsion had not destroyed their power, because they had left Madīnah with their wives and children and their wealth, followed by singers beating drums and playing wind-instruments in an act of conceit and pride, the like of which had never been seen among any people at that time.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In collecting reports on this topic and selecting those which are authentic, I referred to the thesis by al Shaykh 'Awaḍ Aḥmad al Shahrī, entitled *Marwīyāt Ghazwat Khaybar* (Reports of the Khaybar Campaign), which he has submitted for a Master's Degree in the Department of Postgraduate Studies in the Islamic University of Madīnah al Munawwarah. I was a member of the examining panel.

<sup>2</sup>This is the distance by modern road, which is different from the route which was followed by the Messenger to Khaybar.

<sup>3</sup>See *al Mawsū'ah al 'Arabiyyah al Muyassarah* (The Simplified Arabic Encyclopedia), p. 770. Ḥamad al Jāsir, *Fī Shimāl Gharb al Jazīrah*, 236-8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/272.

The most prominent leaders of Banū al Naḍīr who settled in Khaybar were Salām ibn Abū al Ḥaḳīq, Kinānah ibn Abū al Ḥaḳīq, and Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab. When they came to Khaybar, the people accepted their leadership.<sup>7</sup>

The leadership of these three men was enough to drag the Jews of Khaybar into conflict aimed at retaliation against the Muslims. They were driven by an inner hatred and strong desire to return to their homes in Madīnah.

Their first move against the Muslims came in the Battle of the Ditch, when the Jews of Khaybar, led by the leaders of Banū al Naḍīr, played a significant role in the incitement of Quraysh and the desert Arabs against the Muslims, and spent their own money for that purpose. Then they succeeded in persuading Banū Qurayẓah to betray the Muslims and cooperate with their enemies.<sup>8</sup>

After God had aided the Muslims in defending Madīnah and defeating the tribes, the Messenger felt that it was important to deal with the situation in Khaybar, which had become a source of great danger for the Muslims.

Ibn Ishāq reports—with an *isnād* containing a *majhūl* narrator—that the Messenger sent a letter to them, calling them to Islam and reminding them of what their own Scriptures said about his coming.<sup>9</sup> Of course, the Jews did not accept his invitation, nor did they apologize for inciting the enemies of the Muslims. The Messenger therefore decided to liquidate their leaders who had played a part in the incitement against him, including Salām ibn ‘Abd al Ḥaḳīq. The Messenger sent ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Atīk and some of the *Anṣār*, and they killed him.

Al Bukhārī gave the story of his killing in detail: ‘Abd Allāh ibn Atīk found an ingenious way to enter his house, which was within his stronghold and surrounded by his bodyguard, and killed him in his bedroom.<sup>10</sup> This indicates that ‘Abd ‘Allāh ibn ‘Atīk was courageous, eager and ready to make sacrifices for the sake of his beliefs.

But eliminating some of the Jewish leaders was not sufficient to remove the danger to the Muslims. The treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah, between the Muslims and Quraysh, which took place in the sixth year of the *Hijrah*, gave the Muslims the opportunity to devote themselves to the conquest of Khaybar. Many of the Qur’ānic commentators suggest that God promised the Muslims that they would conquer Khaybar and take booty from it, in *Sūrat al Faṭḥ*, which was revealed on the way back from al Ḥudaybiyah:

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/253, transmitted it from the *Sirah* authorities, joining their *isnāds* together. The *isnāds* contain a *majhūl* narrator, who is invalidated by being *mursal*, but this report is acceptable, because soundness from a *ḥadīth* point of view is not a condition for accepting *akhbār*.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/195.

<sup>10</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Barrī, Kitāb al Maghāzī, Bāb Qaṭl Abū Rafīq*, 7/340.

God's good pleasure was on the believers when they swore fealty to thee under the tree: He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down tranquility to them; and He rewarded them with a speedy victory; and many gains will they acquire (besides): and God is exalted in power, full of wisdom. God has promised you many gains that you shall acquire, and He has given you these beforehand; and He has restrained the hands of men from you; that it may be a sign for the believers, and that He may guide you to a straight path; and other gains (there are), which are not within your power, but which God has compassed: and God has power over all things. (*Al Fath* 48:18-21)

### The date of the campaign

Ibn Ishāq suggested that it took place in Muḥarram of the seventh year. Al Wāqidī suggested that it took place in Ṣafar or Rabī al Awwal of the seventh year, after the return from al Ḥudaybiyah in Dhū al Ḥijjah of the sixth year.<sup>11</sup> Al Zuhri and Imām Mālik suggested that it took place in Muḥarram of the sixth year.<sup>12</sup> The historians followed these pioneers in establishing the date of the campaign, so their suggestions also differ. There is no great difference between Ibn Ishāq and al Wāqidī; it is less than three months. The difference between them and al Zuhri and Imām Mālik stem from the differences in defining the beginning of the *hijrah* calendar. Some of them included the months preceding Rabī al Awwal, the month in which the *hijrah* took place, so they added a year to the dates of the events which took place at the time of the Prophet; others ignored those months, and considered Rabī al Awwal as the beginning of the calendar, so they dropped a year from the dates of the events. Ibn Ḥajar preferred Ibn Ishāq's suggestion to that of al Wāqidī.<sup>13</sup>

### On the way to Khaybar

When the Muslims set off for Khaybar under the leadership of the Prophet, they were shouting "*Allāhu Akbar*" (God is Most Great) and "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*" (There is no god but Allah) in loud voices, and he asked them to calm down, saying: "You are calling one who is all-hearing and close, and He is with you."<sup>14</sup> This gives a clear picture of the spirit which was

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/130; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/634.

<sup>12</sup>Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (The History of the City of Damascus), 1/33.

<sup>13</sup>*Fath al Barī*, 7/464.

<sup>14</sup>al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Maghāzī*, *Bāb Ghazwat Khaybar*, 7/470.



controlling the Islamic army. They were motivated by strong faith and their morale for fighting was high, while they were marching towards strongholds full of men, weapons, provisions and supplies. None of these could prevent the believers from achieving their noble aims.

Al Wāqidī is the only one who gives a detailed description of the Prophet's route to Khaybar. Al Wāqidī is an expert in describing routes and in defining the places where the events of the *Sīrah* took place. He used to follow the routes himself and ask questions about them. He explained that the Prophet left Madīnah and went through Thinyat al Wadā', Zaghābah, Nuqmā, al Mustanāh, al Waṭīh, 'Aṣr, Ṣahbā, and al Kharāṣah; he then passed between al Shiqq and al Naṭāh, went through al Manzilah and al Rajī, from where he set off to conquer Khaybar.<sup>15</sup> Since al Rajī lies to the northeast of Khaybar, it seems that the Prophet wanted to cut Khaybar off from Syria and its allies in Ghatafān.

### Description of the conquest of Khaybar

The Prophet conquered al Naṭāh first, and its two strongholds, Nā'im and al Ṣa'b, fell to the Muslims. Then he conquered al Shiqq, and its two strongholds, Abī and al Nizār, fell. Al Naṭāh and al Shiqq lie to the northeast of Khaybar. Then he conquered al Katībah, and its stronghold, al Manī (or al Qamūṣ), fell. This was the stronghold of Ibn Abū al Ḥaṣiq. Then he conquered al Waṭīh, and then al Salālīm, and their strongholds fell. This is the sequence of the conquest areas around Khaybar according to al Wāqidī's description.<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ishāq's description differs in the order of events. He agrees with al Wāqidī that the conquest began with the capture of the stronghold of Nā'im in the region of al Naṭāh, but he differs in that he puts the capture of al Qamūṣ before the capture of al Ṣa'b.<sup>17</sup>

The authentic *ḥadīth* indicate that the Prophet reached Khaybar before dawn and prayed *Fajr* in its vicinity. Then he attacked it before the sun rose. The Jewish peasants who came out to work with their cattle, hoes and baskets were surprised to see the Muslims there and exclaimed: "Muḥammad and his army!" The Messenger answered: "*Allāhu Akbar!* Khaybar is destroyed. When we descend into the open space of people, evil will be the morning for those who were warned (and heeded not)!"<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/639.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Hisham, *al Sīrah*, 3/438.

<sup>18</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Ṣalāh*, 1/478; *Kitāb al Adhān*, 2/89.

Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Jihād wa al Siyar*, *Bāb Ghazwat Khaybar*, 3/426.

The Jews took refuge in their strongholds, and the Muslims besieged the stronghold of al Nā'im. Ghatafān quickly came to the aid of the Jews of Khaybar, who were their allies, but they did not join in the fighting for fear that the Muslims might attack their homes. Al Wāqidī states that Ghatafān reached the strongholds of Khaybar, but Ibn Ishāq states that they returned to their homes before reaching Khaybar. Al Wāqidī is the only one who says that the Prophet offered Ghatafān a year's date harvest from Khaybar in return for their withdrawal, and that they refused. This report cannot be relied upon because al Wāqidī is weak and he is the only one who reported it.<sup>19</sup>

Abū Bakr carried the flag of the Muslims for the first two days of the siege of Nā'im, but it did not fall to him, and stress and exhaustion overtook them. The Prophet said: "Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man whom Allah and His Messenger love, and who loves Allah and His Messenger. He will not return until the stronghold has fallen to him." The Muslims' spirits revived. After the Prophet had prayed *Fajr* the following morning, he called 'Alī and gave him the flag. 'Alī carried it on the third day, and he achieved the conquest.<sup>20</sup> One report indicates that the flag-bearer before 'Alī was 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb, not Abū Bakr, but this is a weak report relying on Maymūn al Baṣrī who is *ḍa'īf*.<sup>21</sup> Another report tells that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī took turns in carrying the flag on the third day. This is also a weak report because its narrator, Baridah ibn Sufyān, is weak.<sup>22</sup>

The Prophet commanded 'Alī to call the Jews of Khaybar to Islam, and to tell them what their duties towards God were. He said to him: "By God, if God guides one man (to Islam) through you, it is better for you than the most valuable camels."<sup>23</sup> This shows that the Prophet was not eager for the booty of Khaybar; rather he was concerned about spreading the message of Islam and removing obstacles from the path of its preparation.

When 'Alī asked him: "O Messenger of God, on what basis shall I fight?" he said: "Fight them until they say 'There is no god but Allah and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah.' If they do so, their blood and wealth will be protected from you, except what is due from it (i.e., *zakāh*, etc.) and Allah knows their intentions."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 3/650; Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/438.

<sup>20</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 5/353; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/37; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/150. Al Ḥākim judged that its *isnād* was *ṣaḥīḥ*, and both al Dhahabī and al Haythamī agreed with him.

<sup>21</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 5/358; al Haythamī, *Kashf al Astār 'an Zawā'id Musnad al Bazār*, 2/338; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/300; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al Tahdhīb*, 2/292.

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/455; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul*, 2/300; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/37; see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1/433. Al Haythamī (*Majma' al Zawā'id*, 9/124) and al Bazār (Ibn Kathīr, *Al Sirah al Nabawīyah*, 3/353) reported it with another *isnād*, which includes Ḥākim ibn Jubayr, who is *ḍa'īf*, as mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar's *Taqrīb al Tahdhīb*, 1/292.

<sup>23</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kiraḥ Faḍā'il al Ṣaḥābah*, 4/1872.

<sup>24</sup>*Sharḥ al Nawawī 'alā Muslim*, 15/177.

Maḥmūd ibn Maslamah al Anṣārī was martyred in the siege of the stronghold of Nā'im, when Marḥab threw a millstone onto him from the heights of the stronghold.<sup>25</sup> 'Alī met Marḥab in combat and killed him.<sup>26</sup> Marḥab was one of the heroes of the Jews, and his death affected their morale.

Several reports tell that 'Alī carried a gate of the fortress of Nā'im as a shield after a Jew had knocked his shield from his arm, but these are all unsubstantiated reports.<sup>27</sup> Rejecting these reports is not a denial of 'Alī's strength and courage. There are many other reports which establish this beyond doubt.

The conquest of Nā'im took ten days.<sup>28</sup> Afterward, the Muslims set off toward the stronghold of al Ṣa'b ibn Mu'ādh in the region of al Naṭāh, where there were 500 warriors with food and provisions. The Muslims were suffering from lack of food. Al Ḥabbāb ibn al Mundhir carried the flag at the conquest, and he did well and fought the Jews bravely. The conquest took three days. Then the Muslims conquered the stronghold of Qal'at al Zubayr, which was the last stronghold of al Naṭāh. The fugitives from Nā'im, al Ṣa'b, and the other Jewish strongholds conquered by the Muslims had gathered in Qal'at al Zubayr, and it was a high and impregnable stronghold. The Muslims cut off the water supply, and forced the Jews to come down and fight; they killed ten of the Jews and conquered the stronghold after a siege lasting three days. After they had dealt with the people of al Naṭāh, who were strongest of the Jews, the Muslims moved from al Rajī to al Manzilah.

Undoubtedly, the position of the Muslims was much stronger after they had defeated the people of al Naṭāh and seized their food and provisions, and the rest of the Jews of Khaybar were alarmed by the fall of al Naṭāh.

The Muslims set off to conquer al Shiqq. This area contained many strongholds, including Abī and al Nizār. The Muslims began by conquering Abī; some of the Jewish warriors were killed in single combat in front of the stronghold. Then the Muslims stormed the fortress and gained the food and provisions inside. Some of the Jewish warriors managed to escape and barricade themselves in the fortress of al Nizār, where they fought the Muslims with arrows and stones. Their resistance collapsed before the siege of the Muslims, who conquered the fortress. The rest of the people of al Shiqq fled from their strongholds to the area of al Katībah, to the southwest of Khaybar, and barricaded themselves in the stronghold of al Qamūṣ (al Manī'). Some of the defeated barricaded themselves with the people of the strongholds of al Waṭīḥ and al Salālīm. The Muslims besieged them for 14 days, before they asked for peace without there having been any fighting. Al Nizār was the

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/438; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/645.

<sup>26</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Jihād wa al Siyar*, *Bāb Ghazwat Dhū Qarad*, 3/1433.

<sup>27</sup>Al Sa'atī, *al Fath al Rabbānī*, 21/120; Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/446; Ibn Kathīr, *al Sirah al Nabawiyyah*, 3/359; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Isābah*, 2/509.

<sup>28</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/657.

last stronghold in which there was fighting. Afterwards the Jewish resistance collapsed and the Jews limited themselves to barricading themselves inside their strongholds, and this barricading always ended with their asking for peace.

The description of the conquest of the strongholds of al Ṣa'b and al Zubayr, and of the regions of al Shiqq and al Katībah, is based on al Wāqidi.<sup>29</sup> He is the only one who gives a clear picture of the conquest of these areas. He is an historian (*akhbārī*) who has abundant information, despite his being weak in the opinion of the *ḥadith* scholars. His report is of the kind which is allowable.

Ibn Ishāq's reports about the conquest of Khaybar are confused and lack precision when compared with the location of the strongholds of Khaybar.

An authentic report mentions that the Prophet fought the people of Khaybar, then seized their land and palm trees, and forced them back to their citadel. They agreed that the gold and silver, weapons and armor were for the Messenger of God, and that they could have whatever their mounts could carry, on condition that they restrained themselves and did not conceal anything. If they did so, there would be no protection for them and no treaty with them. They concealed some musk belonging to Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab, who had been killed before Khaybar, and who had brought it with him on the day Banū al Naḍir were expelled. Sa'yah<sup>30</sup> was asked: "Where is the musk of Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab?" He answered: "It was spent on war and other expenses." Then the Muslims found the musk, and killed the two sons of Abū al Ḥaḥiq, and took their women and children as prisoners.<sup>31</sup>

Ibn Ishāq mentions without *isnād*, that the one who concealed the treasure and was asked about it was Kinānah ibn al Rabī'.<sup>32</sup> Ibn Sa'd mentions Kinānah and his brother al Rabī'.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sa'd's *isnād* includes Muhammad ibn 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Abū Laylā, who is *ṣadūq*, but he has a very bad memory.<sup>34</sup>

It has been proved that the Jews of the stronghold of al Qamūṣ asked the Prophet for peace, but afterward broke the treaty, so he took their wealth.

The people of al Waṭīḥ and al Salālīm realized, after the fall of al Naṭāḥ, al Shiqq and al Qamūṣ, that their resistance was futile. They asked the Prophet to let them go and to spare their lives, and he did so.<sup>35</sup>

The rest of Khaybar fell to the Muslims. The people of Fidak, to the north of Khaybar, hastened to ask for peace, and to be allowed to leave in safety, and leave their wealth in return for that. The Prophet agreed to their request.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 2/259, 670.

<sup>30</sup>The paternal uncle of Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab *ʿawn al Ma'būd* (The Help of God), 8/241.

<sup>31</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan, Kitāb al Kharāj wa al Imārah wa al Fay', Bāb Mā Jā'a fī Ḥukm Ard Khaybar*, 3/408.

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/449.

<sup>33</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/112.

<sup>34</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al Tahdhīb*, 2/184.

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 32/449.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

Fidak was exclusively for the Messenger of Allah, because he had not made an expedition to it with either cavalry or camelry. The Muslims then besieged Wādī al Qurā, a group of villages a few days' travel between Khaybar and Taymā.<sup>37</sup> The villages surrendered, and the Muslims took much wealth as booty, but they left the land and palm trees to the Jews, and treated them as they had treated Khaybar. Taymā made a peace treaty similar to the treaties of Khaybar and Wādī al Qurā.<sup>38</sup>

Thus the rest of the Jewish strongholds fell before the Muslims. The report of the request for a peace treaty on the part of the people of al Waṭīh and al Salālim, and of Fidak, was transmitted by Ibn Ishāq with a *munqaṭi' isnād* which is not valid evidence for the rules of Islamic jurisprudence. It is valid for describing historical events. Its narrator, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm is famous for transmitting information of the *Maghāzī*.

The number of Jewish men killed in the battle of Khaybar was 93,<sup>39</sup> and their women and children were taken prisoners. Among the prisoners was Ṣafīyah bint Ḥuyayy ibn Akhtab. The Prophet freed and married her.<sup>40</sup>

Twenty Muslims were martyred, according to Ibn Ishāq;<sup>41</sup> al Wāqidi said that there were 15. It is a sign of Allah's abandoning the Jews that the number of their men killed while defending well-fortified strongholds was far greater than the number of Muslims who were martyred while fighting on open ground. There is a *ṣaḥīḥ* report that a Jewish woman gave the Prophet a roasted sheep she had poisoned; she had put the most poison into the shoulder when she learned that this was the part he preferred. When he tasted some of the shoulder, he realized that it had been poisoned, so he spat out the mouthful. The woman confessed, and he did not punish her,<sup>42</sup> but later he killed her when Bishr ibn Ma'rūr died as a result of having eaten poison in his food.<sup>43</sup>

What helped the Muslims to conquer Khaybar was the fact that after the treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah they were free to fight the Jews without Quraysh helping them (the Jews), and that the tribe of Ghaṭafān abandoned the alliance with the Jews of Khaybar out of fear for their own homes. Quraysh became dejected and angry when they heard the news of the Muslims' victory over the Jews of Khaybar.<sup>44</sup> The victory was unexpected, because the impregnability of the forts and strongholds of the Jews in Khaybar, and the great numbers of warriors and weapons, were well-known. Similarly, the victory at Khaybar

<sup>37</sup>Khalifah, *Tarikh*, 85, transmitted from Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>38</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 1/405.

<sup>39</sup>Al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 2/699.

<sup>40</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Nikāḥ*, 2/1645.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/804-5, where he gives a list of their names.

<sup>42</sup>Al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 2/700.

<sup>43</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/176; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7/14-15.

<sup>44</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/138; *Mawārid al Zamān*, 413.

had a resounding effect on the other Arab tribes who were astonished by the news and so panic-stricken by the victory, that they held back their hostility and turned to reconciliation. Thus new horizons opened up for the spread of Islam.

The Jews were not expelled from Khaybar at the time of the Prophet. There is an authentic report that the Prophet allowed the Jews to stay in Khaybar on the condition that they work in agriculture and spend their own money on it, and that the Muslims would receive one half of their crops. This was in spite of the fact that the Muslims had the right to expel them if they wanted to. The Jews hastened to make this offer to the Prophet, saying, "We know the land better than you do." He agreed to this although he had intended to expel them.<sup>45</sup>

The fact that he intended to expel them is an indication that all of Khaybar was conquered by force, because those who made peace did so on condition that their lives would be spared and they would be able to leave.

The Jews settled in Khaybar, and the Prophet sent a man on his behalf to evaluate the crops and take the Muslims' share. On one occasion he sent 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah, who evaluated half the crop as being 20,000 camel-loads (*wisq*) of dates. He gave the Jews the choice of taking this half, or of leaving it for him (and taking the other half). They admired his fairness and said: "This is justice, upon which the heavens and the earth are established. We agree to take it, as you said."<sup>46</sup>

But there is another authentic report which says that he evaluated the crop at 40,000 camel-loads; they accepted his evaluation and had to pay 20,000 camel-loads.<sup>47</sup>

The two authentic reports may be reconciled by explaining that by '40' was meant the share of both the Jews and the Muslims, and by '20' was meant the share of only one of the two groups.

## The effects of the conquest of Khaybar

Undoubtedly, the conquest of Khaybar brought great benefits to the Muslims, and improved their economic possibilities with a continual economic income.

<sup>45</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al Maghāzī, Bāb Mu'āmalat al Nabī Aḥl Khaybar*, 7/496; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb Musāqāḥ, Bāb al Musāqāḥ wa al Mu'āmalah bi Juz' min al Tamr wa al Zar'*, 3/1186-1187; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Bāb fī al Musāqāḥ*, 3/697. This does not contradict the report in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (*Kitāb al Kharāj, Bāb Mā Jā'a fī Ḥukm Ard Khaybar*, 3/412) which says: "When the Prophet and the Muslims gained the wealth (i.e., of Khaybar, including the land), they did not have enough workers to work the land for them, so the Messenger of Allah called the Jews, and made an agreement with them." It is possible to reconcile the two reports by explaining that the Jews made this offer to the Messenger and that he accepted after he had thought about it and seen that it was in the interests of the Muslims. Subsequently, he called the Jews and made an agreement with them.

<sup>46</sup>Al Sā'atī, *al Fath al Rabbānī*, 21/125; it is a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*.

<sup>47</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al Buyū', Bāb al Khurās*; Abū 'Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, 198.

‘Ā’ishah said, commenting upon the conquest of Khaybar, “Now we can eat our fill of dates.” Ibn ‘Umar added: “We did not eat our fill until we conquered Khaybar.”<sup>48</sup>

Undoubtedly, these reports give a clear picture of the benefits of the conquest of Khaybar in strengthening the economic position of the Muslims, and of the economic situation before the conquest. In spite of the Muslims’ desperate need before Khaybar, the Messenger would have preferred the Jews’ becoming Muslim to receiving the booty, as is made clear by his command to ‘Alī. Nor did he want to destroy or expel the Jews; for this reason he accepted the peace agreement which the Jews of al Qamūṣ, al Waṭīḥ and al Salālīm offered. After the agreement—according to which the Jews accepted expulsion from Khaybar—had been made, he agreed to let them stay in Khaybar according to their request, an indication of tolerance and justice. This action served the economic and military interests of the Islamic state, in that it conserved the military energies of the Muslims which could then be directed towards continual struggle aimed at unifying the Arab peninsula under the suzerainty of Islam. The Muslims did not turn to agriculture, which needs continual work in cultivating the land and tending plants and palms, and would use their time and energy. They also benefitted from the experience and energies of the Jewish peasants, who maintained the level of agricultural production in Khaybar because of their experience with the land and its cultivation. The Muslims were provided with a large share (of the produce) which the state could use to equip the army and cover other expenses.

The Muslims gained movable wealth; each man took whatever food he needed, without sharing it with the other Muslims or giving one fifth (*khums*) of it to the state, because it was little.<sup>49</sup> This contradicts al Wāqidī’s report that there was much wealth and that it was sufficient for the Muslims to feed themselves and their animals for a month or more.<sup>50</sup>

### How the booty of Khaybar was distributed

There is a Qur’ānic verse which explains that the booty of Khaybar was exclusively for the Muslims who had witnessed al Ḥudaybiyyah, and that no one else could share it with them:

Those who lagged behind (will say), when you (are free to) march and take booty (in war): ‘Permit us to follow you.’ They wish to change God’s decree. Say: ‘Not thus will you follow us; God has

<sup>48</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Maghāzī*, *Bāb Ghazwat Khaybar*, 7/495.

<sup>49</sup>Al Sā’atī, *Al Faṭḥ al Rabbānī*, 21/125; Abū Dā’ūd, *al Sunan*, *Kitāb al Jihād*, *Bab al Nahī ‘an al Nuḥbā idhā kāna fī al ṭa’īm Qillah fī Arḍ al Adūw*, 3/151.

<sup>50</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/665.

already declared (this) beforehand.' Then they will say: 'But you are jealous of us.' Nay, but little do they understand (such things) (*al Fath* 48:15).<sup>51</sup>

The Messenger divided the land of Khaybar into two: one half to provide the food to be stored in case of disaster and for giving hospitality to the delegations which used to come to Madīnah, and the other half for the Muslims who had witnessed al Ḥudaybiyyah. The total number of shares came to 36,<sup>52</sup> of which 18 were given to the people who had witnessed al Ḥudaybiyyah. The army consisted of 1,500 men, of whom 300 were horsemen. A horseman was given two shares, and a foot-soldier was given one share.<sup>53</sup>

The only one who witnessed al Ḥudaybiyyah but was absent at the conquest of Khaybar was Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh. In spite of his absence, he was given a share like those who were present. This is, however, a weak report, which was narrated through Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*.<sup>54</sup>

It has been proved that the Prophet gave some of the booty of Khaybar to the 'People of the Ship' (*Ahl al Safīnah*), who were some of the Muslims who had migrated to Abyssinia and had returned to Madīnah and reached Khaybar after the conquest. There were 53 or 52 men under the leadership of Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib, and they were the only ones who had not witnessed the conquest but still received a share of the booty.<sup>55</sup>

An exception may have been made in their case because they had a reason for not being able to attend al Ḥudaybiyyah, otherwise they would have been present. The Prophet probably asked those who had the right to the booty to accept parting with some of their share. Likewise, Abū Hurayrah and some members of the Dawsī tribe, even though they had not taken part in the fighting, were also given a share of the booty upon their request, and with the agreement of those who had a right to it.<sup>56</sup>

## Examples of the *Mujāhidūn*

There are sufficient reasons to believe it is *ṣaḥīḥ* that a Bedouin took part in the conquest of Khaybar, and that during the battle the Prophet wanted to give him a share of the booty. However, the Bedouin was absent (when

<sup>51</sup>See also al Ṭabarī, *al Tafsīr*, 26/50.

<sup>52</sup>Awaḍ al Shahrī, *Marwiyāt Ghazwat Khaybar*, 195.

<sup>53</sup>Abū Dā'ūd, *al Sunan*, *Kitāb al Kharāj wa al Fay' wa al Imārah*, *Bāb Mā Jā'a fi Ḥukm Arḍ Khaybar*, 3/413; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/131 (al Dhahabī accepted it as *ṣaḥīḥ*).

<sup>54</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/467.

<sup>55</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb Farḍ al Khums*, 6/237; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb Fada'il al Ṣaḥābah*, 4/1946.

<sup>56</sup>Umar ibn Shibbah, *Tārīkh al Madīnah*, 105.



the booty was divided). Later, he returned and was given a share. He took it to the Prophet and said: "I did not follow you for this. I followed you so that I might be struck here (he pointed to his throat) and enter Paradise." The Prophet said: "If you are truly sincere, then Allah will give you what you want." After a while, they got up to fight the enemy. Later, the Bedouin was brought to the Prophet, killed by an arrow in the throat, where he had indicated. The Prophet shrouded him in his own outer garment, performed the funeral prayer, and made supplication for him, saying: "O Lord, this is your servant, he emigrated for Your sake and was killed as a martyr and I am witness to that."<sup>57</sup>

This report is strong evidence of the effect which faith can have on the soul of a Bedouin who had been accustomed to a life of raiding, plundering, and robbing in the time of *Jāhiliyyah*, and would accept no reward for his *Jihād* except Paradise. What, then, was the effect of faith on the souls of the notable companions of the Prophet? Can it be said that they conquered the homes of the Jews out of greed for land and wealth? Could it have been religious fanaticism which compelled them to drive out the Jews? The companions of the Prophet first called the Jews to Islam before the fighting, agreed to give them protection after the siege, and allowed them to stay in Khaybar after they had surrendered. The Jews remained there until the caliphate of 'Umar. They then showed hostility and hatred, and betrayed the Muslims. They killed one of their men, and dislocated the hands and feet of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar while he was sleeping in his place in Khaybar. 'Umar expelled the Jews from Khaybar and gave them the price of dates which was due to them in money, camels and other goods such as pack-saddles and ropes.

Thus ended the military and economic role of the Jews in the Ḥijāz, and the Muslims were free to devote themselves to pacifying the disbelieving Arab tribes and unifying the Arabian peninsula under the banner of Islam.

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<sup>57</sup>'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/276.

## *Appendices*



## Appendix One:

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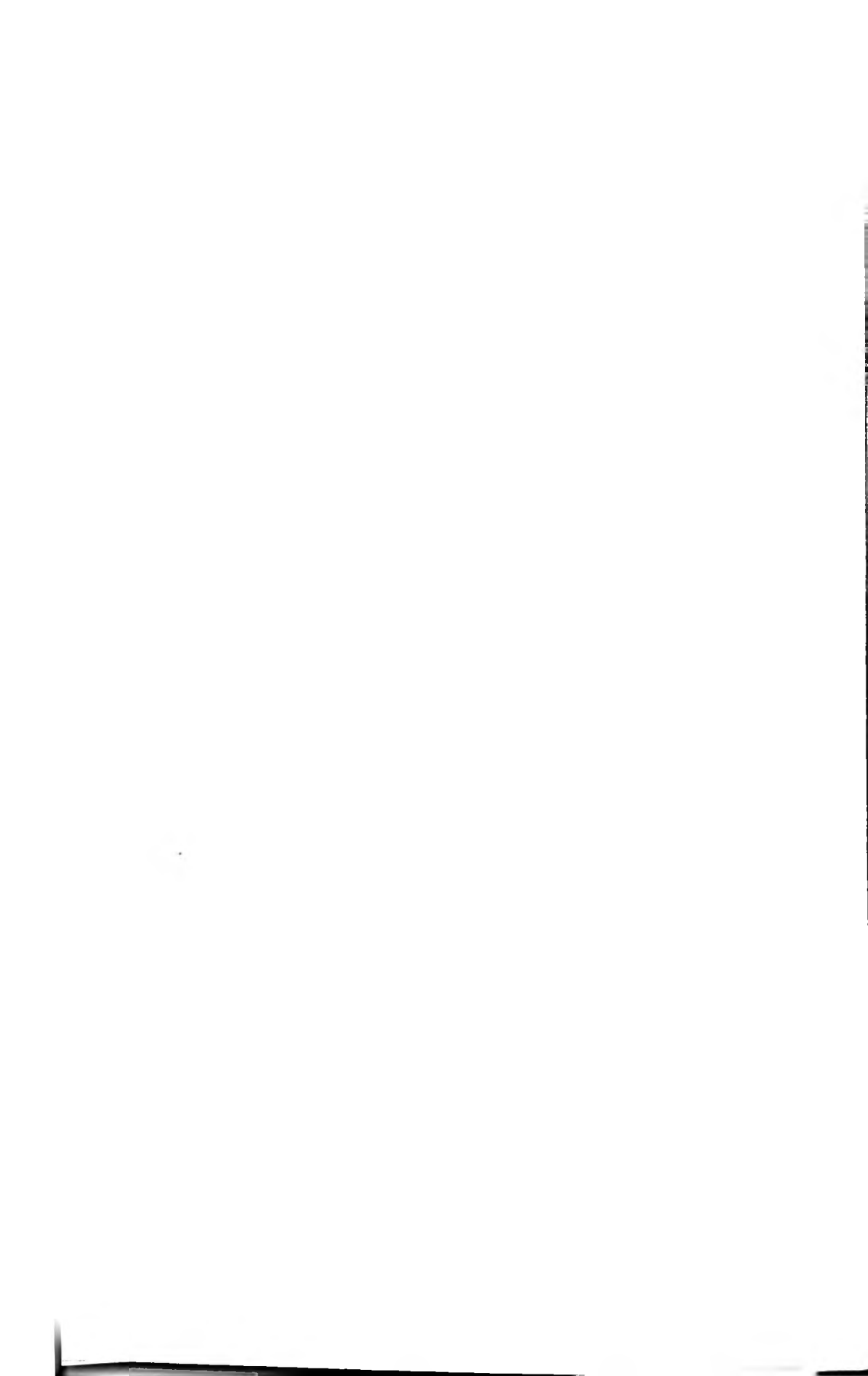
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**Volume II**

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## Introduction

Praise be to God and may peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of God, and upon all his family and his companions.

Concern for recording the *Sīrah* on the history of the life of the Prophet (ŠAAS) was manifested early in the history of Islam. The process of collecting and classifying the relevant data was undertaken by historians and scholars of *ḥadīth* (*Muḥaddithūn*) in the early centuries of Islam.

The distinguishing feature of the writings of historians such as al Wāqidī and al Balādhurī is the fact that they arrange events in chronological order and according to subject. On the other hand, the historical data is sometimes dispersed in the books of the *Muḥaddithūn*, who concentrate on the rules of reporting (*qawā'id al riwāyah*) and who differentiate between the respective *isnāds* or chains of transmitters of *ḥadīth*. They may thus divide a single report, giving one part of it in one place and the rest in another, according to the biographical order of their works. This can be clearly seen in the section of *Maghāzī* (military campaigns) in *Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and less clearly in *Šaḥīḥ Muslim*, because of the latter's special interest in presenting long texts and commenting on their vocabulary, and because he was more concerned than al Bukhārī with dividing the reports according to the biographical data.

Some authors combine the approaches of both *Muḥaddith* and historian, for example: Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, Yāqūb ibn Sufyān al Fasawī, and Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al Ṭabarī. They followed the methods of the *Muḥaddithūn* in presenting *isnāds* and in attempting to complete the picture of an event by occasionally joining *isnāds* or by presenting the various reports which deal with one subject under a relevant heading.

However, all the writers of *Sīrah* were concerned with collecting as many reports as they could, and writing them down, without making it a condition that whatever they wrote should be *ṣaḥīḥ*. They left the reader to decide, from the *isnāds* which they reported, which reports were *ṣaḥīḥ* and which were *ḍa'īf*. The only exceptions to this were al Bukhārī and Muslim, who made *ṣiḥḥah* (authenticity) a condition of whatever they wrote in the *Sīrah* reports of their two *Šaḥīḥs*.

The specialists in the early centuries of Islam knew the reporters of *ḥadīth* and their status, and the *isnāds* and their conditions of *ṣiḥḥah*, and they were able to judge and distinguish between the reports. But this biographical knowledge of individual reporters and *isnāds* did not remain the basis of



education in later centuries, so that now one very rarely finds any educated person who is concerned with this knowledge. For this reason, books by contemporary writers and historians do not make any differentiation at all between reports according to the rules of *ḥadīth* classification and terminology. The greatest historians of our age follow the method of historical criticism which appeared and developed in the West during the last two centuries. They deal with the *Sīrah* reports according to the critical method which was devised from a thorough study of Western historical writings. The Western method is not suited to dealing with Islamic historical reports, which have their own characteristics, the most prominent of which is the chain of authorities, or *isnād*, which precedes the report, and which the *Muḥaddithūn* use as a basis for deciding whether or not the *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*.

A great many books have been written which deal with the biographies and status of the narrators and whether or not they could have met one another, and which also judge them through detailed studies of their reports, in addition to considering their contemporaries' opinions of them. This huge mass of information and these valuable books have not been used in recent studies dealing with Islamic history, including the study of *Sīrah*. Our loss will be great if we bury the efforts of hundreds of great scholars who dealt with Islamic historical reports, by our ignoring their value and our adhering only to Western methods of historical criticism.

Neglecting criticism of the *isnāds* of Islamic historical reports and relying only on criticism of the texts will lead to confusion when we are faced with many conflicting reports, all of which conform to the critical and logical rules. This has happened with the details of historical events, especially with the reports dealing with the early period of Islam. The researcher is obliged to use the methods of the *Muḥaddithūn* in criticizing the *isnāds*. Otherwise he will be faced with insurmountable problems in deciding which reports are most likely to be accurate.

We do not mean to unduly discredit Western critical methods, or judge them arbitrarily. Western critical methods are the result of the work of great scholars who have developed them through experience and detailed study. Each scholar has added to the work of his predecessor, until Western critical methodology reached its present stage of depth and comprehensiveness.

In many details, rules, and principles, the Western scholar encounters the methods of the Muslim scholars who had established their field of study centuries earlier. Such encounters are indicative of the roots of Islamic influence on European thought, dating back to the establishment of contacts between the West and the Islamic world during the European middle ages. The Muslims' methods of scientific research are not confined to the rules of the school of the *Muḥaddithūn*. Other rules were established by the scholars of *Uṣūl al Fiqh* (Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence) and were defined in the books of *Uṣūl al Fiqh*. Particular rules were established by the Muslim scholars of

medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, and embodied in the methods of empirical research. These methods are connected to the history of Western thought by the name of Roger Bacon, who relied solely upon Arabic books in his research, as Gustave Lebon mentions.<sup>1</sup> These methods enabled the materialistic civilization of the West to achieve its high technological levels. The subject of this introduction, however, is the methods of the *Muḥaddithūn*, which are directly concerned with *ḥadīth* reports and which we may then try to apply to historical reports. The *Muḥaddithūn* methods are similar to the methods of historical research.

The method of the *Muḥaddithūn* in *ḥadīth* classification and terminology were finalized by al Khaṭīb al Baghdādī in the fifth century AH, and no significant additions were made to it after that date. Ibn al Ṣalāḥ and al Qāḍī 'Aḡāḍ revised and restructured the method for teaching purposes. Al Ḥāfiẓ al Dhahabī, al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Kathīr and al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar applied this method in their books, and made some minor additions to it. But the method itself was not substantially altered, because the additions of al Dhahabī, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Ḥajar dealt with minor points in the general rules. These additions are important because they give us an idea of how this method might have become complete and comprehensive, had the academic movement in the Muslim world remained active and had its development not been stunted by the long ages of neglect.

Integration of the methods of the *Muḥaddithūn* and the methods of Western criticism could produce the best results, if the latter were controlled by the standards of Islamic thought. Undoubtedly modern Islamic historical research, including the study of the *Sīrah*, is still in its infancy, and needs a great deal of effort to raise it to the level of international historical research. To illustrate, the reader of a modern book of *Sīrah* may find hardly any difference between the modern book and Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah* or Ibn al Qayyim's *Zād al Ma'ād*, even though the style and methodology of the two books may differ, and despite the great developments in social studies in the modern era, and the valuable help which modern science can give to such studies. Unfortunately, we still live on the periphery of the modern academic world, and have not yet dared to enter it in order to benefit from its diverse richness, even though that which we have inherited from our ancestors in the field of historical works is much greater than that which the Western historians have inherited from their predecessors.

Historical criticism in our studies appears to be weak, and the analyses of our reports are even more so. Our superficial treatment of reports, our compartmentalized view of events, our lack of evaluation of events in terms of cause and effect, and our unclear picture of the movement of Islamic history as well as the role of the individual in that Islamic society (particularly, the controversial relationship between predestination and free will); all these contribute toward a weak presentation of historical criticism. Nor do the early

<sup>1</sup>Gustave Lebon, *Ḥaḡārat al 'Arab* (The Civilization of the Arabs), p. 26.

books of history provide us with a clear style of analysis and comprehensive judgment, because the methods of the early historians consisted only in presenting the reports. The ancient Muslim historians rarely referred to the social concepts which governed the movement of history, although the Qur'ān clearly drew the Muslims' attention to those concepts. No Muslim historian tried to formulate the Qur'ānic concept of history and introduce a comprehensive theory based on events, suggestions, and historical evidence until the time when Ibn Khaldūn wrote his *Muqaddamah*, in spite of the fact that Muslim intellectuals dealt with philosophy and logic from an early period, and clearly benefited from them in establishing the study of linguistics and Uṣūl al Fiqh. They did benefit from philosophy and logic by being cautious, eliminating whatever contradicted Islamic thought and belief, and succeeding in that to a great extent. Their success was related to the extent to which their Islamic conviction (*aqidah*) was clear in their minds.

Many researchers, especially among the Orientalists, think that the Muslim scholars are concerned only with examining the *isnāds* of the reports, and that they neglect examining the texts. Some may think that this absence of a critical mentality is the reason why examination of the texts is neglected. Here we should note that this judgment cannot be taken as a general statement. The Muslim scholars went to great lengths to examine *isnāds*, but they did not neglect examining and judging the texts. They were greatly concerned with this matter. The evidence for their judgment is too great to be enumerated, but we can mention some historical events which refer to the examination of the texts. Ibn Hazm rejected the number of Muslim soldiers at *Uḥud* as mentioned in many sources, on the basis of rational judgment of the text. Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah brought forward the date of the campaign against *Banū al Muṣṭaliq* to the fourth year AH, thus differing from the majority of *Sīrah* writers who put it in the sixth year AH. Ibn al Qayyim and al Dhahabī agreed with him in this judgment which was based on an examination of the text. They reached their conclusion because Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh took part in this campaign, and he was martyred during the campaign against *Banū Qurayzah*.

The early historians differed regarding the date of the campaign of Dhāt al Riqā, according to their understanding of the texts. Al Bukhārī gave the date as being after Khaybar, and Ibn al Qayyim, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Hajar agreed with him. Their opinion differed from that of Ibn Ishāq and al Wāqidī, which was based on the fact that Abū Mūsā al Ash'arī and Abū Hurayrah participated in this campaign, and that they had come to the Prophet to declare their acceptance of Islam immediately after the conquest of Khaybar.

There were many discussions concerning the date of the legislation of *Ṣalāt al Khawf* (Salah in Times of Fear); most of these discussions were based on the examination of texts.

Al Khattābī explained the abrogation of the declaration that *Wādī Wujj* in al Tā'if was a sanctuary on the basis of his examining the text.

## INTRODUCTION

These topics are referred to in this book, because they are examples taken from it. There are other examples too numerous to mention. But we cannot ignore the historical fact that during the first three centuries, the efforts of the historians concentrated on selecting and writing them down. This selectiveness becomes apparent when we contrast a work with its sources. A particular work may drop some previous reports, as Ibn Hishām did with Ibn Ishāq, and as al Ṭabarī did with his sources.

Despite the fact that the selectiveness itself is critical work, the great effort involved in writing down and preserving reports consumed the energies of the earliest historians. The later historians summarized the works of earlier scholars and added commentaries. Thorough examinations of the texts appear in later works, as is clear to anyone who reads *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah* by Ibn Kathīr or *Fath al Bārī* by Ibn Hajar which is a commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, in the section dealing with the *Maghāzī*.

This does not mean that the texts were examined as thoroughly as the European historical texts were examined during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, after the methods of historical criticism had been developed. But is it fair to judge the efforts of early historians according to modern standards which are the result of centuries of academic and scientific development in every field?

However, we cannot evaluate the critical mentality of the early Muslim scholars by examining the books of history alone. We should take into account their intellectual output as a whole, in *Fiqh* and comparative *Fiqh* (the books of *aḥādīth al aḥkām*). Undoubtedly the books of *Fiqh* concentrated to a large extent on the texts, explaining them, analyzing their grammatical structures, and deriving laws from them. It is clear that the works of the *Muḥaddithūn* and the jurists complemented one another, and it is only fair to say that the Muslim scholars treated the Prophet's *Sunnah* with a great deal of well-balanced attention.

A thorough examination of the texts is clear in the books of *Uṣūl al Fiqh*, and indicates a unique critical mentality. Although most of the early historians also contributed to other fields of Islamic knowledge, any assessment of these historians should be made on the basis of their intellectual output as a whole, taking into account the time factor (i.e., the early date of their work) so as not to underestimate their contribution.

We should also make it clear that the theoretical aspect of textual criticism was defined, to a large extent, in the early centuries, in the books of *aḥādīth* criticism and methodology, in terminology such as *mudarraḥ*, *mu'alal*, *muḍṭarib*, *shādhdh*, *munkar*, *mawḍū'*, etc. (terms relating to the status of particular *ḥadīths* which deal with criticism of both the *isnād* and the text). The problem is that the historical reports were not examined in the same way as the *ḥadīth* were. We should also mention the miracles of the Prophet and the evidence that they happened. Many miracles happened in the time of the Prophet, although the Qur'ān is his everlasting miracle.

Affirming the eternal miracle of the Qur'ān and denying the other miracles, which have been proved by *ṣaḥīḥ* chains of transmissions, is in fact an act of surrender to materialistic thought and secular philosophy. The Muslim must feel confident in carrying out his studies and academic research completely free from any foreign interference. This book deals with the verification of miracles which have been proved by *ṣaḥīḥ* chains of transmission.

This book deals with the laws of jurisprudence (*al aḥkām al fiḥiyyah*) and the dates of their legislation, because any book dealing with the history of the *Sīrah* must also deal with its legislative aspect. The legislative aspect should also clarify moral and legal precepts which govern the movements of individuals and societies. It is impossible to separate the political and military aspect from the moral and legislative aspect, especially in the early centuries of Islamic history, because the social, economic, political, and military relations were interwoven with faith (*'aqīdah*) and law to such an extent that it is difficult to understand the movement of history at that stage without understanding the spirit and principles of Islam.

This book deals with the movement of the individual as well as of societies. The features and dimensions of the movement of history become apparent through the dynamic activity of certain individuals and their influence. One cannot reject the stories of historical heroes on the ground that they are merely pawns in the wider movement of society. Certain individuals are distinguished by their superior talents, capabilities, and these distinguishing features would not have appeared were it not for the faith (*'aqīdah*) which touched their hearts, fired their imagination and changed their way of thinking. This *'aqīdah* led to a great change in the structure and elements of the Arab personality. Giving precedence to the role of *'aqīdah* prevents us from slipping towards glorification of individualism and exaggerated attitudes of superiority. We should remember that the Prophet, who was a hero among heroes, used to bow to God Almighty, humble himself in supplication to Him, and attribute every victory and conquest to Him.

The reader will not find any attention given in this book to refuting the specious arguments so common in some modern studies on the *Sīrah*, especially the studies of the Orientalists. Their studies are the result of the deliberate misinterpretation of texts and events (as a result of religious or racial prejudice) or of misunderstanding of the Arabic language or of Islam and its laws and aims. The purpose of this book is to present a true picture of the characteristics of the *Sīrah*. Research on the *Sīrah* deserves to have an entire book devoted to it. I do not mean to belittle the importance of correcting previously made mistakes, whether they were made intentionally or unintentionally, but other works have already dealt with this matter. I believe that interest in Islamic history should, in the first place, be concerned with reconstruction before dealing with specious arguments.

This study does not represent my ultimate ambition. It is an attempt to benefit from the methods of the *Muḥaddithūn* in the criticism of historical reports. It concentrates on criticizing the *isnāds* and reporters at the same time that it criticizes the texts, especially in the process of selecting reports from the vast amount which were written by the earliest scholars of *Sīrah*. This study will rely on the reports which the earliest critics authenticated, and its most important aim is to benefit from their methods in assessing the status of those reports which they did not examine. We hope that the reader will benefit from this work, and that it may give a more accurate picture of the *Sīrah*.

I have ignored some reports with deep religious and moral meanings, but I have only done so when the reports were weak. It is obvious that relying on the *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḥasan* reports is sure to produce a clear picture of the historical dimensions of the *Sīrah*, without having to refer to the weak reports.

The reader will find that the reports which are weak from the *ḥadīth* point of view are not disregarded totally. I have used them in subjects which do not deal with Islamic doctrine and law (*ʿaqīdah* and *sharīʿah*) whenever I could not find reports which are *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the standards of the *Muḥaddithūn*. These reports are dealt with according to the standards of historical criticism.

I taught the *Sīrah* of the Prophet for more than fifteen years in the Faculty of Arts at Baghdad University, which was in the Postgraduate Department, and at the Islamic University of Madīnah. I wrote and revised my lectures for the University students many times, and some of them have been published.<sup>2</sup>

The hope is that I may be able to revise them at a later date, so that all the lectures may be published. I rewrote the section dealing with the *Sīrah* after I had supervised a number of theses for Master's and Doctoral degrees prepared by postgraduate students at the Islamic University of Madīnah. I directed these students to examine the reports bearing on the *Sīrah* and to judge them according to the critical methods of the *Muḥaddithūn*. In this great effort these rules were applied to all the reports of the *Sīrah* that are mentioned in the books of *ḥadīth*, history, biography and literature. These resulting theses take up more than 5,000 pages.

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<sup>2</sup>They include: *ʿAwwal Duṣṭūr ʾAlanahu al Islām, Dirāsah Kitābah* (ŠAAS) *bayna al Muhājirūn wa al Anṣār wa al Yahūd fī al Madīnah*, (the first constitution announced by Islam, a study of the Prophet's document between the *Muhājirūn*, the Anṣār and the Jews in Madīnah), published in *Majallat Kulīyat al Imām al Aẓam* (the magazine of the College of the Great Imām), 1972.

*Ahl al Suffah*, publ. in *Majallat Kulīyat al Dirāsāt al Islāmīyah* (the magazine of the College of Islamic Studies), 1968.

*Mūsā ibn ʿUqbah*, one of the early pioneers of *Maghāzī*, publ. in *Majallat Kulīyat al Dirāsāt al Islāmīyah*, 1967.

*Naẓrah fī Maṣādir wa Dirāsāt al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah*, (A Glimpse at the Sources and Study of *al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah*), publ. in *Majallat Kulīyat al Dirāsāt al Islāmīyah*, 1970.

These theses enriched my own experience and enabled me once more to undertake during the past six years a thorough study of all the *Sīrah* reports, and to compare and contrast them. A number of other theses are still being prepared under my supervision. I hope that the writers of *Sīrah* will benefit from this attempt to provide a useful, analytical study. It is an aspect which still desperately needs to be dealt with by intellectuals, to serve the *Sīrah* and to elucidate its noble message which the new generation needs as much as it needs the means of living which modern technology attempts to provide for man. Man is distinguished by his soul and intellect which thrive on the ideas which nourish them as food nourishes the body, and without which the man of tomorrow will become a body without a soul.

The present backwardness in the level of Islamic intellectual output will only force the new generations to seek nourishment from Western intellects which, throughout the centuries, have become filled with deadly materialism, remote from God Almighty, rebellious against spiritual values and compliance with confused secular thought. The social and moral risks which Western society is now favoring are the fruits of the poisonous tree which was nourished by secular thought. Our intellectuals must help to protect our generation from passing through the social stages which Europe experienced. The best weapon at our disposal is to nourish the new generation on Islam and Islamic thought. This provides the best protection from the dangers of materialism.

I ask Allah to accept my work and to make it one of my good deeds in this life and a continuing source of benefit after my death. Indeed, He is our best hope and the greatest one to whom we plea. Our supplication closes with the words: "All praise is due to God, the Lord and Sustainer of all the worlds."

Akram Ḍiyā' al 'Umarī  
Al Madīnah al Munawwarah.

## ***Chapter 1***





## The Legislation of Jihād

"*Jihād*" is an Islamic legal term meaning fighting in the way of Allah in order to establish a just system which upholds the laws of the *Sharī'ah* and seeks to realize the aims of Islam on earth. *Jihād* was not legislated during the *Makkan* period when the Muslims were ordered not to oppose the *Mushrikūn* (polytheists or idolaters) force or to carry weapons against them. The guiding policy among the Muslims at that time was:

"...hold back their hands (from fighting) and establishing regular prayers." (*Al Nisā'* 4:77)

This was the position taken by the Muslims when the missions of Islam were still new, like a young plant which needed water and nourishment to establish strong roots and face the elements. If Islam had confronted the *Mushrikūn* by the sword at that time, the *Mushrikūn* would have uprooted and destroyed Islam at the outset. Wisdom dictated that the Muslims patiently endure the persecution of the *Mushrikūn*, and concentrate their efforts on improving themselves and increasing their faith through acts of worship and struggling with their *nafs* (inner selves), and calling others to Islam in order to increase the numbers of Muslims. The Muslims were indistinguishable from the *Mushrikūn* in their everyday life, and there was no separate camp which Muslims could join on accepting Islam even though they used to gather in *Dār al Arqām* and other places to receive the teachings of Islam. If *Jihād* had been made compulsory at that time, there would have been a battle in every house where someone had become Muslim. When the Muslims emigrated to Madīnah, and the *Anṣār* supported Islam, and the Muslims had territory which was under their control, *Jihād* was instituted by God Almighty. At first, permission was given to fight in self-defense:

To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; ...and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. (*Al Hajj* 22:39)<sup>1</sup>

Then the Muslims were given permission to fight in self-defense and in defense of their beliefs and principles:

Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for God loveth not transgressors. (*Al Baqarah* 2:190)

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<sup>1</sup>For *sabab al nuzūl*, see: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al Musnad* 7/122. See also: Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/58.

This was the second stage in the legislation of *Jihād*. In this respect, *Jihād* differs from the other wars of human history. It is aimed at achieving political and economic goals for certain individuals or groups, who "intend not high-handedness or mischief on earth" (see *al Qaṣaṣ* 28:83). The aims of *Jihād*, and the obligations of truth, justice and mercy on which it is conditioned, distinguish it from all other kinds of war. According to the Qur'ān:

"Those who believe fight in the cause of God, and those who reject Faith fight in the cause of evil." (*Al Nisā'* 4:76)

And the Prophet is reported as having said:

"Fight in the name of God and in the way of God. Go on military expeditions but do not plunder. Do not break your pledge, nor mutilate, nor kill children."

Then came the third stage in which the Muslims were ordered to fight the *Mushrikūn* and to initiate the fighting. This was to facilitate the spread of Islam by removing any obstacles placed in its path by the forces of *Shirk* (polytheism or idolatry), and to give the Muslims the upper hand in the world. In this way, no one would be able to persecute the believers wherever they were or make them renounce their faith. This directive may be clearly seen in the following verses of the Qur'ān (*āyāt*):

"And fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God altogether and everywhere." (*Al Anfāl* 8:39)

"Fighting is prescribed for you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you." (*Al Baqarah* 2:216)

"Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last day, not hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the religion of truth (even if they are) of the people of the book, until they pay the *jizyah* with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued." (*Al Tawbah* 9:29)

*Jihād* is one of the most important religious duties in Islam. It clarifies the major aim which Muslims strive to achieve, namely the freedom of all people in all parts of the world to embrace Islam, and the formation of the political and military power needed to support this freedom and to protect the new Muslims. The spread of Islam at the individual level cannot be achieved by force. "Let there be no compulsion in religion" (2:256). But in order to promulgate Islam, consolidate it and protect its adherents worldwide, Islam needed to be superior to all other international political and military forces, especially in the world where Islam appeared fourteen centuries ago. The

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<sup>1</sup>*Ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1357.

governments of that time prevented their citizens from embracing Islam. The Quraysh in Makkah persecuted the Muslims and so also did the Persians and Byzantines on the borders of the Arabian peninsula in Syria and Egypt. The Islamic texts make it clear that the legislation of *Jihād* was no temporary matter; it is a permanent religious duty, according to the *ḥadīth*:

*Jihād* remains obligatory until the day of resurrection. One who died but did not fight in the way of God, nor did he express any desire (or determination) for *Jihād*, died the death of a hypocrite.<sup>3</sup>

The books of *Fiqh* devoted whole sections to the various laws regulating *Jihād*, just as they did with *ṣalāh*, *ṣawm*, *ḥajj*, and *zakāh*. Hence it is clear that this is a continuing obligation on the Muslim *Ummah*, just like the other obligations and pillars.

*Jihād* united the various groups within the Muslim *Ummah* and directed their energies towards confronting the enemy. Wherever the Muslim forces went, they proclaimed the call to free men from enslavement or worship of anything other than Allah, to regard all men as equal and respect man whatever his color or race. Men's hearts were pierced by this call to lofty principles, rather than by swords. This is the secret behind the spread of Islam and the victory of its forces.

Some of those who have researched the *Futūḥāt* (liberation campaigns resulting in the spread of Islam) have given various reasons for this rapid and successful expansion. Caetani and other Orientalists have suggested that the motives were economic, basing this suggestion on the claim that the Arabian peninsula had undergone climatic changes, i.e., severe drought had caused waves of human migration from the peninsula to the Fertile Crescent where people could find economic prosperity, and that the *Futūḥāt* was just one of many such wars. An objective study of the facts, however, will reveal that there were no climatic changes in the Arabian peninsula just before Islam, nor was there any great upheaval in the economic conditions. The Arab tribes did not move to the Fertile Crescent in such great numbers until after the emergence of Islam when they were united under its flag and were eager to realize its principles.

From studying the letters which were exchanged between the *Khalīfahs* and the leaders of the *Futūḥāt*, and also other reports of the *Futūḥāt*, we can see the extent to which belief and ideology controlled the soldiers and produced the strict discipline in their ranks. The spirit which dominated the leaders and most of the army from the noblest principles and the desire to guide mankind aright, although booty was the incentive for some of the soldiers, increased the number of participants especially among the Bedouin. Nonetheless, any explanation of the *Futūḥāt* and of the general spirit which

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<sup>3</sup>Muslim, Ibn al Ḥajjāj, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1517.

dominated the thinking of the leaders who planned the conquests should not be greatly influenced by the individual attitudes of some of the Bedouin fighters. Undoubtedly the leadership was eager and conscious of their responsibility and this took precedence over acquiring booty.

The Muslim liberators reduced the taxes due from the inhabitants of the liberated lands, did not take personal possessions, and preserved the existing economic structure. Their attitude was governed by a constructive spirit of guidance.

There is another explanation for the expansion of Islam which is based on political factors. The Prophet (ṢAAS) and the *Khulafā' al Rāshidūn* were concerned with stopping the *riddah* (apostate) movement and thwarting any attempts it might make to divide the Muslim *Ummah*. Their concern caused them to divert energies, which might otherwise have caused troubles and discord, toward the spreading of Islam, and led to internal unity in the ranks of the *Ummah*. Although this explanation highlights a positive aspect, and reveals some of the wisdom behind the legislation of *Jihād*, it does not fully explain the impetus for the expansion of Islam. Most of the troubles and discord were caused by the apostate *murtadd* Bedouin during the *Khilāfah* of Abū Bakr al Ṣiddīq. After he had brought them under the control of the state, he forbade them to participate in military campaigns and stripped them of their weapons as a punishment. This was because he could not be sure of their loyalty, and because their attitudes and behavior did not bear the characteristics of the complete Islamic personality, and hence would not present a true picture of Islam to the inhabitants of the liberated lands. Abū Bakr relied on the inhabitants of the cities (Madīnah, Makkah, and Ṭā'if) where the principles and educational effects of Islamic faith were well-established, to provide the army, and all the leaders were from among the *Ṣaḥābah* (companions of the Prophet).

A third explanation for the *Futūḥāt* attempts to justify them by saying that they were defensive in nature, and that they used attack as a means of defending the Islamic state from its powerful enemies. This explanation is given by the majority of Arab and Muslim historians. In doing so, they are yielding to concepts which dominate the twentieth century, the ideologies that are affected by man's hatred of war and its evil effects in destroying civilizations, the maiming and killing of people, and the creation of refugees. They are affected by the emergence of international organizations which are concerned with reconciling the conflicting interests of nations, helping to establish international peace, and replacing wars with negotiations in order to solve international problems.

The spirit of the age has led many writers on the *Futūḥāt* to adopt an apologetic stance aimed at reconciling the spirit of the modern age with the concept of *Jihād* in Islam. Such contrition can be attributed to a number of interrelated psychological and intellectual factors, including the dominance of

Western concepts among the majority of educated Muslims. This dominance is due to the intellectual invasion, which produced feelings of inferiority vis-a-vis the West and led to the attempts to justify everything which conflicts with the spirit of Western civilization and its intellectual and psychological concepts. Another of these factors is the inability to understand the reality of *Jihād* and its aims. Muslims do not clearly understand that *Jihād* is not aimed at forcing Islamic belief on anyone but is aimed at removing the obstacles which prevent the spread of Islam, either by weakening or destroying the prevailing political powers, so that the Muslims can (by gaining the upper hand) prevent anyone from persecuting Muslims wherever they may be.

The connection between *Jihād* and forcing belief on people was first made in Orientalist studies which are filled with propaganda and distortions of the facts. This connection must be broken in order to present a true picture. The Qur'ān makes it clear, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that people are free either to choose Islam or to remain Christians and Jews, even within the Islamic society or in the territories ruled by the Islamic state. This is proved by the verse of the Qur'ān and by authentic historical events. The subject nations welcomed the freedom from Byzantine and Persian dominance which Islam brought to them. The Copts in Egypt and the Jacobites in Syria expressed their joy at the religious freedom which Islam proclaimed. If this announcement of religious freedom had not been sincere, then all the religious minorities would have been absorbed by the Muslim society and they would not have survived, as they have until the present day, despite the passing of 14 centuries since the emergence of Islam.

Describing the *Futūḥāt* as defensive is an apologetic attempt which does not stand up to serious argument. Did the people of Andalusia or Transoxiana cross the Muslims' borders in order to conquer them? Did securing the borders necessitate the Muslims' penetrating deeply into three continents, Asia, Europe and Africa, where dangerous events and decisive battles took place far from the Arabian Peninsula, such as the battle of Tours at Poitiers in the south of France, the conquest of Crete and southern Italy, the battle of Tiraz on the Talas river in Transoxiana, and finally the siege of Vienna?

The true explanation of the *Futūḥāt* is that they applied their religious duty which is *Jihād*, and which the Prophet (ṢAAS) described as the pinnacle of Islam.



## ***Chapter 2***





## The Beginning of Jihād

The first actions of *Jihād* were the campaigns *ghazawāt* and smaller expeditions *sarāyā* directed against places to the West of Madīnah. These had three aims:

1. To threaten Quraysh's trade routes to Syria, a serious blow to the mercantile economy of Makkah.
2. To make peace treaties and agreements with the other tribes who lived in the area, in order to guarantee their support or at least their neutrality in the conflict between the Muslims and Quraysh. This plan was important, and its accomplishment was a success for the Muslims, because originally these tribes had tended to favor the Quraysh, as there were historical alliances between them, which the Qur'ān describes as *ilāf* or "covenants (of security and safeguard)" (Qur'ān 106:1) and through which the Quraysh sought to secure their trade with Syria and the Yaman. These tribes had a real interest in the Quraysh as the custodians of the Ka'bah, to which all the Arabs performed pilgrimage in order to worship the idols which surrounded it. The tribes and the Quraysh shared common beliefs and joined together to oppose Islam. Undoubtedly, the fact that the Muslims were able to make treaties with these tribes and ensure their neutrality during the conflict was a great victory for them at that stage.
3. To demonstrate the power of the Muslims in Madīnah to the Jews and the *Mushrikūn*. Muslim dominance was no longer confined to Madīnah; the Muslims were now beginning to establish control over the surrounding areas and tribes and influence their interests and relations.

The first expedition *ghazwah* was *Ghazwat al Abwā'*,<sup>1</sup> which is also known as *Ghazwat Wuddān*. These are two adjoining sites, six or seven miles apart. Al Abwā' is approximately 14 miles from Madīnah. There was no battle during this *ghazwah*, but the peace treaty with Banū Ẓamrah (from Kinānah) was concluded. This *ghazwah* took place on 12 Ṣafar in the second year of the *Hijrah*. According to al Madā'inī's report,<sup>2</sup> the army stayed outside Madīnah until Rabī' al Awwal before they returned.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>It was mentioned in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, in a *Ḥadīth* from Zayd ibn Arqam, that the first *ghazwah* was al 'Ashīrah. Al Ḥafīẓ ibn Ḥajar reconciled this report with that of Ibn Ishāq by explaining that Zayd ibn Arqam meant that the first *ghazwah* in which he took part with the Prophet (ṢAAS) was al 'Ashīrah. *Al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/246.

<sup>2</sup>Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt al Uṣfūr, *al Tārīkh*, 56.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al 'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/279. Khalīfah: *al Tārīkh*, 56, from a report of Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād*.

'Urwah ibn al Zubayr mentions that the Prophet sent a *sarīyah* out from al Abwā, consisting of 60 men under the leadership of 'Ubaydah ibn al Ḥārith.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ishāq mentions that the *sarīyah* was sent to Sayf al Baḥr after the return to Madīnah, and that another *sarīyah*, consisting of 30 men under the leadership of Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, also went to Sayf al Baḥr at that time, in order to intercept a Quraysh caravan. But the two *sarīyahs* did not engage the Quraysh in battle, because, in the case of Ḥamzah's *sarīyah*, the tribes who had peace treaties with both sides prevented any fighting, and in the case of 'Ubaydah's *sarīyah* there was only an exchange of arrows between the Muslims and the Quraysh.<sup>5</sup>

Undoubtedly the two *sarīyahs* were aimed, in the first instance, at threatening the trade of the Quraysh. This was the first warning to the Quraysh that their trade would be in danger unless they changed their obstinate attitude towards Islam. In Rabī' al Thānī, the Muslims continued their campaign against the trade routes. *Ghazwat Buwāṭ* took place in Riḍwā, near Yanbū', with two hundred fighters who went to intercept a Quraysh trade caravan. Then *Ghazwat al Ashīrah* (in Yanbū') took place in Jumādā al Ūlā. There was no fighting in Riḍwā and al 'Ashīrah, but a peace treaty was concluded with Banū Mudlaj in al 'Ashīrah<sup>6</sup> in Jumādā al Ākhirah. Immediately after al 'Ashīrah, Karaz ibn Jābir al Fahrī came to the outskirts of Madīnah and stole camels and cattle. The Prophet (ṢAAS) pursued him as far as Safwān in the vicinity of Badr, hence this was called the first *Ghazwah* of Badr. Karaz managed to escape from his pursuers,<sup>7</sup> but this event convinced the Muslims of the necessity of securing their relations with the neighboring tribes, so the expeditions continued. The Muslims did not limit themselves to intercepting Quraysh's trade with Syria; they also intercepted their trade route with the Yaman. The *sarīyah* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh, with eight *Muhājirūn*, was sent to Nakhlah, south of Makkah, at the end of Rajab, solely to find out and assess the latest news about the Quraysh. But they intercepted a Quraysh trade caravan, seized it, killed its leader, took two of its men prisoner and took it back to Madīnah.<sup>8</sup> Because this event occurred during the sacred month, the *Mushrikūn* caused a great outcry insisting that the Muslims had violated the sanctity of the sacred month. The event had a serious impact on both city dwellers and desert nomads, because it broke a tradition which had long been established in the Arabian Peninsula well before Islam. In fact, 'Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh was aware of the seriousness of this violation and had taken the decision to fight

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/279.

<sup>5</sup>Khalifah, *al Tārīkh*, 61-62. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al Mālīk Ibn Hishām al Ḥimyarī, *al Sirah al Nabawiyyah*, 1/591-2, from a report of Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*. Al Umawī, *Maghāzī*, also without *isnād*, as mentioned in *Fath al Bārī*, 76/279.

<sup>6</sup>Khalifah, *al Tārīkh*, 57, transmitted through Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 63, from a *mursal* report of 'Urwah with a *ḥasan isnād*.

after consulting with his companions. When he returned to Madīnah, he wanted to hand over the booty, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) refused to accept it, saying: "I did not order you to fight during the sacred month. Quraysh has spread the propaganda that Muḥammad and his companions have violated the sacred month, spilt blood, seized wealth and taken men prisoner during this month."

Some verses of the Qur'ān were revealed which clarified the soundness of the Muslims' position. The Prophet thus took the booty and ransomed the two prisoners to Quraysh. The verses were:

They ask thee concerning fighting in the prohibited month. Say: fighting therein is a grave offence; but graver is it in the sight of God to prevent access to the path of God, to deny Him, to prevent access to the sacred Mosque, and drive out its members. Tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter. (*Al Baqarah* 2:217)

Thus the verse clearly stated that the Quraysh's actions in oppressing the Muslims and driving them out of Makkah were worse than the Muslims' fighting during the sacred month,<sup>9</sup> although the first part of the verse confirms the sanctity of the "sacred month." Why, then, did the Quraysh not adhere to traditional values in their dealings with the Muslims in order to justify their claims to being the guardians of traditions and sacred things?

Some doubtful individuals may mistakenly think that the Muslims' interception of the *Mushrikūn's* caravans was the action of bandits. The response to these doubts is that the Muslims were in a state of war with the Quraysh, and their attempts to weaken the Quraysh, both in economic and human terms, were a necessity of this state of war. Another reason was the fact that the Quraysh had seized the Muslims' wealth when they had emigrated from Makkah. Even in modern times, it is still allowed to strike at the human and economic resources of the enemy in time of war.

Another important event also took place in Rajab and should be mentioned because of its effect on affirming the distinctness of the Muslims and their independence in the direction of their *ṣalāh*. This was the changing of the *Qiblah* from Bayt al Maqdis (in Jerusalem) to the Ka'bah (in Makkah).

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<sup>9</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 1/59-60, from the *mursal aḥādīth* of 'Urwah. Al Bayhaqī Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/12, 58-9, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to 'Urwah. There are other similar reports in al Ṭabarānī, with *ḥasan* or other *isnāds*. (see: *al Iṣābah* 2/278; Ibn Kathīr, 3/251; and al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/66-7. When all the chains of narrators are taken into account, the *ḥadīth* becomes *ṣaḥīḥ li ghayrihi*.)



## ***Chapter 3***



## The Changing of the *Qiblah*

Before the *Hijrah*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed facing Jerusalem, with the Ka'bah between himself and Bayt al Maqdis (Jerusalem). This was narrated in a report with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to 'Abd Allāh ibn al 'Abbās.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have suggested that in Makkah he prayed facing the Ka'bah, and that when he migrated to Madīnah, he prayed in the direction of Bayt al Maqdis. Al Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Umar ibn 'Abd al Barr al Qurtubī was inclined to accept the latter opinion. Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar criticized this opinion and said, "This is weak *ḍa'īf*, because there would have to be two reports of abrogation."<sup>2</sup> The first report, however, is more authentic in that it encompasses both statements. Al Ḥākim and others also considered it *ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>3</sup> Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab stated clearly that the *Anṣār* used to pray towards Bayt al Maqdis three years before the *Hijrah*.<sup>4</sup>

When the Prophet (ṢAAS) emigrated to Madīnah he continued to perform *ṣalāh* in the direction of Bayt al Maqdis for 16 months.<sup>5</sup> In the middle of Rajab of the second year AH, he was ordered by God Almighty to change the direction of *ṣalāh* towards the Ka'bah, the direction followed by Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl. Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab gave the date of the changing of the *Qiblah* towards the Ka'bah as being two months before Badr.<sup>6</sup> This would make it

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Sa'd Muḥammad, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/243. Al Ḥākim and others authenticated the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās. In the chapter dealing with this subject, al Bukhārī indicated that it is more likely that when the Muslims prayed at the Ka'bah, they faced Bayt al Maqdis. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 1/95-6.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 1/97.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1/96.

<sup>4</sup>Al Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk*, 2/4, with a *ḥasan isnād*, although it is *mu'an'an* from Qatādah, who is *mudallis*. Ibn al Madīnī considered his reports from Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab weak, if they were not transmitted orally, as mentioned in the biography of Qatādah in *Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*. In the *Mufasssīr*, al Ṭabarī made a similar suggestion to that of Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2/5). One may notice that the phrase used by Ibn al Musayyab is *thalāth ḥujaj* (three Pilgrimages) instead of *thalāth sanawāt* (three years).

<sup>5</sup>A number of *Ṣaḥābah* reported this. They were Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, Anas ibn Mālīk, and al Barā' ibn 'Āzib. Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab reported it with a *mursal isnād*. The *isnāds* going back to these *Ṣaḥābah* are *ṣaḥīḥ* (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/374), and Muslim confirmed this. *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 1/95), but al Bukhārī's report mentions "16 or 17 months." He is uncertain.

<sup>6</sup>Khalīfah, *al Tārīkh*, 64. Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/242. Its *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ* but *mursal*, and the *marāsīl* of Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab are strong. See also al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2/3.



17 Rajab, 2 AH, if we were being precise, or the middle of Rajab, as the majority of scholars say, discounting the two days.<sup>7</sup>

Ibn Ishāq gives the date of the changing of the *Qiblah* as being in Rajab, 17 months after the Prophet's arrival in Madīnah.<sup>8</sup> He also cites an irregular *shādhah* report that the changing of the *Qiblah* took place in Sha'bān, 18 months after the *Hijrah*.<sup>9</sup>

Al Wāqidī gives the date as being in the middle of Rajab, 17 months after the *Hijrah*.<sup>10</sup> There are also other irregular reports. Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah asserted, for example, that the changing of the *Qiblah* took place in Jumādā al Ākhirah. Others suggested variously 13 months, 19 months, 20 months, two months,<sup>11</sup> and two years after the *Hijrah*.<sup>12</sup>

If we disregard the irregular reports, the apparent contradiction between 16 and 17 months may be resolved by joining the two opinions. Those who say that it was 16 months consider the month of the Prophet's arrival and the month of the changing of the *Qiblah* as one month, disregarding any extra days, and those who say 17 months add these two months together. Some scholars were hesitant about giving a date.<sup>13</sup>

Undoubtedly the Jews, who had made a peace treaty with the Prophet (ṢAAS) welcomed the fact that he continued to pray towards Bayt al Maqdis. Mujāhid said that they took advantage of this and said: "Muḥammad differs from us, yet he still prays towards our *Qiblah*,"<sup>14</sup> and this report is probably correct. They thought that the new religion was following them in the direction of the *Qiblah* and that it had adopted some of their traditions and rituals. They might have desired to have the new religion under their control. Some scholars have even suggested that the changing of the *Qiblah* to Bayt al Maqdis took place in the first year of the *Hijrah* in an attempt to attract the Jews.<sup>15</sup> This was clearly not the case. Before the *Hijrah*, the Muslims in Makkah used to pray towards Bayt al Maqdis and they continued to do so after the *Hijrah*.

The Prophet waited for the revelation (*waḥy*); he wanted to face the Ka'bah and return to the *Qiblah* of Ibrāhīm, where the first Sacred House had been built for the worship of God alone. He wanted the Muslims to be distinguished by their own *Qiblah*, and put an end to the Jewish propaganda. His prayer was answered and his wish fulfilled by Almighty God.

<sup>7</sup>*Tārīkh Khalīfah* (64) without *isnād*.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 64, without *isnād*.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/242; he says that al Wāqidī is *matrūk*.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bari* 1/97; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2/3-4; Khalīfah, *Tārīkh*, 64; their *isnāds* include 'Uthmān ibn Sa'd al Kātib, who is *ḍa'if*.

<sup>12</sup>From the *mursal aḥādīth* of al Ḥasan al Baṣrī which are *ḍa'if*. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, 65.

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bari*, 1/96.

<sup>14</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2/20.

<sup>15</sup>Reports concerning this were transmitted in al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2/4, through Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al Rāzī, who is *ḍa'if*, and Muthannā ibn Ibrāhīm al Amālī, who is *majhūl*.

We see the turning of thy face (for guidance) to the heavens: now shall We turn thee to a *Qiblah* that shall please thee. Turn then thy face in the direction of the sacred Mosque: Wherever ye are, turn your faces in that direction. (*Al Baqarah* 2:144)

The first *ṣalāh* which the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed facing the Ka'bah was *Ṣalāt al Zuhr* among the Banū Salamah. The first *ṣalāh* which he prayed in the *Masjid al Nabawī* was *Aṣr*, and the first *ṣalāh* which the people of Qubā' prayed in their mosque was *Fajr*, when news reached them of the changing of the *Qiblah*.<sup>16</sup> The change in direction disturbed the Jews deeply; they were angry, and began to spread rumors. Some verses were revealed which refuted their claims. When they claimed that righteousness was only in facing Bayt al Maqdis in prayer, the following verse was revealed:

The fools among the people will say: What hath turned them from the *Qiblah* to which they were used? Say: to God belong both East and West. He guideth whom He will to a way that is straight. (*Al Baqarah* 2:142)<sup>17</sup>

The Qur'ān explains that the changing of the *Qiblah* from Bayt al Maqdis to the Ka'bah was a test of the believers, to assess the strength of their belief and to find out how quickly they responded to the orders of God Almighty.

...And We appointed the *Qiblah* to which thou was used, only to test those who followed the Apostle from those who would turn on their heels (from the faith). Indeed it was (a change) momentous, except to those guided by God. And never would God make your faith of no effect. For God is to all people most surely full of kindness, most merciful. (*Al Baqarah* 2:143)

This means that God made the prophet (ṢAAS) turn away from the first *Qiblah*, which was Bayt al Maqdis, as a test. This test becomes clear when we read the reports which reflect the effect of the changing of the *Qiblah*. For example, the *Mushrikūn* claimed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was confused about his religion and had returned to their *Qiblah*. The hypocrites (*Munāfiqūn*) in Madinah spread rumors among the Muslims, saying: "Why does Muḥammad turn us to one direction and then to another?" The believers began to worry that the *ṣalāh* they had performed facing Bayt al Maqdis would not be accepted.<sup>18</sup> This verse made it clear that the *ṣalāh* of one who prayed facing Bayt al Maqdis

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 1/97.

<sup>17</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 1/1-2.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 2/11-12.

and died before the changing of the *Qiblah* and had not faced the Ka'bah, would not be in vain. There were ten *Ṣaḥābah* who had died because they had obeyed Allah and His Messenger in facing Bayt al Maqdis, just as those still alive obeyed him in facing the Ka'bah.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/243, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 1/98; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2/17.

## ***Chapter 4***



## The Great Campaign of Badr

In spite of the fact that the Muslims had threatened the trade routes to Syria, they had not yet engaged the caravans of Quraysh in any decisive battle. Thus the Quraysh continued to send their caravans under armed escorts. The Muslims monitored the movements of the caravans and when they heard of a large caravan returning to Quraysh from Syria, they sent scouts to look out for it. The caravan was led by Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb and was carrying enormous wealth to Quraysh. Thirty or 40 men were guarding it.<sup>1</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Bisbas to find out about the caravan and on the latter's return, the Prophet (ṢAAS) urged his companions to set out. He hurried out with those who were ready, without waiting for those from the upper parts of the city who also wanted to go, lest they miss the caravan.<sup>2</sup>

The Muslim army at Badr therefore did not represent their entire military strength. They went out to seize the caravan and did not know that they would be facing the army of Quraysh. 'Ikrimah mentioned that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent 'Adī ibn al Zaghba' and Bisbas ibn 'Amr to Badr as scouts, to find out about the caravan, and that they came back with news of it.<sup>3</sup> The report about the sending out of Bisbas is verified in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. It indicates that Muslims may use appropriate measures—one of which is spying on the enemy and gathering intelligence about him to achieve a particular goal.

The Muslims went out to Badr with only 319 men,<sup>4</sup> 100 from the *Muhājirūn* and the rest from the *Anṣār* according to the report of al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām who participated in this event. However, al Barā' ibn 'Āzib, whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) would not allow to take part in the battle because he was too young, said that there were more than 60 *Muhājirūn* and more than 240 *Anṣār*.<sup>5</sup> The sources mention the names of 340 *Ṣaḥābah* who were present at Badr. This is because the reports differ as to who participated in the campaign.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa'd ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al Sirah*, 107. The value of this wealth was estimated at 50,000 dinars, and they used to earn one dinar for each dinar in their trade. (al Wāqidī, *al Maḡhāzī*, 1/200; al Balādhuri, *Ansāb al Ashraf*, 1/312.

<sup>2</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥadīth* No. 1157. This *ḥadīth* mentions Baṣṣah instead of "Bisbas." Ibn Ḥajar said that the correct version is "Bisbas." *Al Isābah*, 1/151.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/24, Egyptian ed., with a *ṣaḥīḥ mursal isnād* going back to 'Ikrimah.

<sup>4</sup>*Sharḥ al Nawawī 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (al Nawawī's commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*), 12/8; al Bukhārī said in his report "between 213 and 219." Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/290-2).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 7/290-2, 324-6.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Kathīr al Qurashī al Dimashqī, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/14. See also al 'Alīmī, *Marwiyāt Ghazwat Badr*, 365-419.

On the way, one courageous *Mushrik* came to join them, wanting to fight alongside his people who were Muslims. The Prophet (ṢAAS) however, sent him back, saying, "I will never seek help from a *Mushrik*." The man tried again, but the Messenger refused his help, until the man embraced Islam and then joined the Muslims.<sup>7</sup> This episode is significant in demonstrating that this first battle in Islam was characterized by ideological commitment and unity of purpose.

The Muslims had 70 camels with them, which they rode in turn.<sup>8</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Lubābah and 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib took turns riding one camel. Abū Lubābah and 'Alī wanted to let the Prophet (ṢAAS) ride the camel, but he said: "You are not stronger than I, and I am no less in need of God's reward than you." This attitude is remarkable in that it shows both leader and soldiers are equal in enduring hardship and possessed of sincerity and true devotion in seeking God's pleasure and reward. How could the soldiers not endure hardship when their leader himself competed with them in doing so and would not allow his soldiers to undergo more hardship than he, although he was an old man of fifty-five?

The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered 'Abd Allāh ibn Umm Maktūm to lead the *ṣalāh* in Madīnah during his absence. Then he sent Abū Lubābah back from al Rawḥā' which is 40 miles from Madīnah and appointed him as *Amīr* over Madīnah.<sup>10</sup> This explains the importance of leadership whether traveling or not, and during both war and peace.

Abū Sufyān heard that the Muslims had come out to seize the caravan, so he took the coast road and sent Ḍamḍam ibn 'Amr al Ghifārī to summon the people of Makkah to war. When the Quraysh heard this news, they prepared to go out to defend their caravan.

Ibn 'Abbās and 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr mentioned that 'Ātikah bint 'Abd al Muṭṭalib dreamt that a man summoned Quraysh to war and threw a rock down from the summit of Mount Abū Qubays in Makkah. The stone was shattered and fragments entered every house of Quraysh. This dream caused an argument

<sup>7</sup>Al Nawawī Abū Zakariyā Muḥīy al Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Sharīf, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 12/198.

<sup>8</sup>*Al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 2/260, from Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*; Ibn Ḥazam, *Jawāmi' al Srah*, 108.

<sup>9</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/411, with an *isnād* which al Ḥākim said was *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim (*al Mustadrak*, 3.20). al Haythamī said: "Aḥmad and al Bazzār narrated it, and its *isnād* includes 'Aṣim ibn Bahdalah, whose *ḥadīth* are *ḥasan*, but the rest of the men in Aḥmad's *isnād* are *ṣaḥīḥ*." (*Majmā' al Zawā'id* 6/69).

<sup>10</sup>*Al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/260, transmitted from Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/632, its *isnād* includes Ibn Lahī'ah, who is *ṣadūq*, but became confused after his book was burned (Ibn Hajar, *al Taqrīb*). I could not find biographies of Abū Ja'far al Baghdādī and Abū 'Alāthah Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid. Al Dhahabī did not say anything about them.

between al 'Abbās and Abū Jahl, which was resolved when Ḍamḍam came and told them about the caravan.<sup>11</sup>

The news stunned the Quraysh, because on previous occasions when the Muslims had intercepted their caravans to alarm them, only minor skirmishes had ensued. This time, however, they intended to seize the caravan. This was indicated by the Prophet (ṢAAS) saying to the Muslims: "These are the camels of Quraysh laden with their wealth; go out to them so that perhaps God will give them to you as booty."<sup>12</sup> The Quraysh therefore swiftly tried to mobilize all their forces. None of their horsemen or men on foot stayed behind except a few such as Abū Lahab, who sent a man in his place. The Quraysh were very angry because they regarded what had happened as an insult to their pride and as a challenge to their high position among the Arabs, as well as a blow to their economic interests. If anyone therefore appeared reluctant to wage war, the leaders of Quraysh rebuked him until they persuaded him to set out.<sup>13</sup>

It is authentically reported that the army of the disbelieving Quraysh reached 1,000.<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ishāq mentions without *isnād* that there were 950 fighters, with 200 horses, accompanied by singers beating drums and singing songs insulting the Muslims.<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the supply of provisions to the army, al Umawī mentioned without *isnād* that the rich men of Quraysh slaughtered camels, sometimes nine, sometimes ten to feed the army.<sup>16</sup> The Banū Zahrah broke away and returned to Makkah after al Akhnas ibn Sharīq advised them to do so, his having heard that the caravan had escaped. They were in al Jaḥfah, to the east of Rābigh, when they turned back,<sup>17</sup> but most of the army advanced until they came to the area of Badr. It was now no longer their aim to rescue the caravan. Now they wanted to punish the Muslims to prevent them from intercepting their trade routes again, and to spread propaganda among the Arabs about the strength and supremacy of the Quraysh. Some of their servants were taken prisoner by the Muslims at the springs of Badr. The Prophet (ṢAAS) learned from them the number of the army, its position and leaders, and even the number of camels they slaughtered for food every day. He concluded: "The

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<sup>11</sup>Al Ḥakīm al Nisābūrī, *al Mustadrak*, 3/19, with a weak *isnād* going back to Ibn 'Abbās; *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/257, from Ibn Ishāq with a *ḥasan isnād* going back to 'Urwah, but it is *mursal*. There are other reports which are not without weaknesses, but they support one another so as to indicate that this event is *ṣaḥīḥ*. (*al Isābah*, 4/347 and *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/72).

<sup>12</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/61, from Ibn Ishāq, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to Ibn 'Abbās.

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/283.

<sup>14</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 12/84.

<sup>15</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/260.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/301; al Ṭabarī, *al Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk*, 2/443.



people are 1,000; each mare camel and its offspring is enough for a hundred.”<sup>18</sup>

Some of the Muslims were not pleased that the caravan had escaped and were not happy about facing the *Mushrik* army because they were not prepared for battle. The Qur’ān describes their attitude in the following verse:

Just as thy Lord ordered thee out of thy house in truth, even though a party among the believers disliked it, disputing with thee concerning the truth after it was made manifest, as if they were being driven to death and they (actually) saw it. Behold! God promised you one of the two (enemy) parties, that it should be yours: ye wished that the one unarmed should be yours, but God willed to justify the truth according to His words, and to cut off the roots of the unbelievers. (*Al Anfāl* 8:5-7)<sup>19</sup>

In the second pledge *bay’ah* at al ‘Aqabah, the *Anṣār* had undertaken to protect the Prophet (ṢAAS) in their own country, but they had not pledged to fight with him outside Madīnah. For this reason, the expedition which took place before Badr had been confined to the *Muhājirūn*.

Because the *Anṣār* were present with the *Muhājirūn* at Badr and were greater in number, the Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to find out what they thought of the new situation. He therefore consulted with his companions in general but wanted to hear the opinion of the *Anṣār* in particular. Ibn Ishāq narrated a report of this consultation with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

News came to him that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan, and he told the people of this and asked their advice. Abū Bakr and then ‘Umar got up and spoke well. Then al Miqdād ibn ‘Amr got up and said: “O Messenger of God, go where God tells you for we are with you. We will not say as the children of Israel said to Moses, you and your Lord go and fight and we will stay at home, but you and your Lord go and fight, and we will fight with you. By Him who sent you with the truth, if you were to take us to Bark al Ghimād, we would fight resolutely with you against its defenders until you gained it.” The Messenger of God commended him and prayed for him. Then he said, “Give me advice, O men,” by which he meant the *Anṣār*. This is because they formed the majority, and because when they had pledged allegiance to him at ‘Aqabah they

<sup>18</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/193, 948. The commentator Aḥmad Shākir said, “Its *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*.” Al Haythami said, “The men of Aḥmad are *ṣaḥīḥ* apart from Hārithah ibn Muḍrib, who is *Thiqah*.” (*Majma’ al Zawā’id*, 6/76)

<sup>19</sup>Sūrat al Anfāl (8:5.7)

stipulated that they were not responsible for his safety until he entered their territory, and that when he was there, they would protect him as they did their wives and children. So the Messenger of God was afraid that the *Anṣār* would not feel obliged to help him unless he was attacked by an enemy in Madīnah, and that they would not feel it incumbent upon them to go with him against an enemy outside their territory. When he spoke these words, Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh said, "It seems as if you mean us," and when he said that he did, Sa'd said, "We believe in you, we declare you and we witness that what you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our word and agreement to hear and obey; so go where you wish, we are with you; and by God, if you were to ask us to cross this sea and you plunged into it, we would plunge into it with you; not a man would stay behind. We do not dislike the idea of meeting your enemy tomorrow. We are experienced in war, trustworthy in combat. It may well be that God will let us show you something which will bring you joy, so take us along with God's blessing." The Messenger of God was delighted at Sa'd's words which greatly encouraged him. Then he said, "Forward and be of cheer, for God has promised me one of the two and by God it is as if I now saw the enemy lying prostrate."<sup>20</sup>

When the Prophet (ṢAAS) saw the obedience and bravery of his soldiers, as they all agreed to fight, and were happy to make sacrifices for the sake of Islam, he began to organize them. He gave the standard, which was white, to Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr, and he gave two black flags to 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib and Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh. He put Qays ibn Abū Ṣaṣ'ah at the head of the rear-guard.<sup>21</sup>

Disputes arose in the Quraysh army when 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah wanted to go back without fighting the Muslims to avoid any killing between the two sides, because some of the Muslims and *Mushrikūn* were related to one another. Abū Jahl, however, was determined to fight, and his opinion prevailed in the end.<sup>22</sup> The *Mushrikūn* sent a spy to find out the number of Muslims.<sup>23</sup> Abū Jahl began to invoke against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, "Our Lord,

<sup>20</sup>Translated in Guillaume, pp. 293-4. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/262-3, from a report of Ibn Ishāq with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*. Ibn Kathīr said, "There are many other similar reports, including the reports in al Bukhārī, al Nasā'ī and Aḥmad." Ibn Kathīr refers to al Bukhārī's and Imām Aḥmad's reports of what al Miqdād ibn al Aswad said (*al Faṭḥ*, 7/287; *Musnad Aḥmad*, 5/259, *Ḥadīth* No. 3698, by Aḥmad Shākīr).

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 3/260, from Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād*, Ibn al Qayyim Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *Zād al Ma'ād fi Hudā Khayri al 'Ibād*, 2/85.

<sup>22</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2/443, 424-5, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>23</sup>*al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 2/269, from Ibn Ishāq, with a *jayyid isnād*, as it is more likely that the Shaykhs of Ishāq ibn Yasār include some *Ṣaḥābah*. If this is true, then the *Ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, because not knowing the *Ṣaḥābi* does not matter, especially if there are many *Ṣaḥābah*.

whichever of the two parties was less kind to his relative, and brought us what we do not know, then destroy him tomorrow." This was his prayer for victory which was mentioned in the verse:

O unbelievers! If ye prayed for victory and judgment, now hath the judgment come to you: if ye desist (from wrong), it will be best for you: if ye return (to the attack), so shall we. Not the least good will your forces be to you even if they were multiplied: for verily God is with those who believe. (*Al Anfal* 8:19)<sup>24</sup>

The Muslims arrived at Badr and reconnoitered the place before the *Mushrikūn* arrived. This was reported with a *ḥasan isnād* going back to 'Urwah, but the report is *mursal* and states that al Habbāb ibn al Mundhir advised the Prophet (ṢAAS) to leave the wells of Badr behind him so that the *Mushrikūn* would not be able to use them, and that the Prophet (ṢAAS) accepted his advice.<sup>25</sup> In spite of the weakness of this report, the principle of consultation *shūrā* is established by the texts of the Qur'ān and events of the *Sīrah*.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) often used to consult his companions on matters about which there was no revelation in either the Qur'ān or the *Sunnah*. He did this in order to accustom them to thinking about general problems because he was concerned about teaching them to feel responsibility. He also wanted to apply God's command to institute *shūrā* (consultation) and accustom the *Ummah* to practicing it.

In a *ṣaḥīḥ* report, 'Alī described how the Muslims spent the 17th night of Ramaḍān at Badr with the *Mushrik* army before them:

On the day of Badr, we were all sleeping, except the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was praying facing a tree, and making supplication until morning. It rained a little during the night, so we ran to shelter from the trees and pieces of leather. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the whole night praying to his Lord, saying, "Our Lord, if this band perish today, You will be worshipped no more." When the dawn came, he called, "Come to prayer, O servants of God." The people came out from underneath the trees and pieces of leather, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led us in prayer and urged us to fight.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup>al Hākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/328; al Ṭabarī, *al Tafsīr*, 13/454, annotated by Aḥmad Shākir. Both with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* from the *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Ṣa'īr al 'Adharī, one of the lesser *ṣaḥābah*. It is not proved that he heard it from the Prophet (ṢAAS), but the *mursal* of the *Ṣaḥābah* is not 'ilah qāḍihah, because all the *Ṣaḥābah* are 'adl.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Hajar, *al Isābah fi Ma'rifa al Ṣaḥābah*, 1/302, from Ibn Ishāq, who mentioned that he heard it. Al Hākim has a report in *al Mustadrak*, 2/426-7, with an *isnād* which includes men whose biographies I could not find. However, al Dhahabī said that it was a *munkar ḥadīth*. Ibn Hishām mentioned the report from Ibn Ishāq with an *isnād* which contains some *ibhām*. If the *mubham* were known, then the *sanad* would be *ḥasan*.

<sup>26</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*. (*Fath al Rabbānī*, 21/30, 32).

There is a weak report which indicates that the preparation of the army for war and putting the soldiers in their positions was completed during the night.<sup>27</sup> There is a Qur'ānic verse which proves that rain fell at Badr:

Remember He covered you with a sort of drowsiness, to give you calm as from Himself, and He caused rain to descend on you from heaven, to clean you therewith, to remove from you the stain of Satan, to strengthen your hearts, and to plant your feet firmly therewith. (*Al Anfāl* 8:11)

It seems that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted his army to rest, so he himself guarded them that night.

On the morning of the 17th day of Ramaḍān, the Prophet (ṢAAS) organized his army in ranks, ready to fight.<sup>28</sup> This was a new method of fighting which differed from the Arabs' usual method of attack and retreat, which was the method the *Mushrikūn* used at Badr. Undoubtedly the system of ranks reduced the number of casualties among the Muslims and made up for their lack of numbers compared to the *Mushrikūn*. The advantage lay in that the forces were always under the control of the leader, and he was able to protect the rear of the army, since the leader always had contingency forces at the rear to deal with any unforeseen circumstances.<sup>29</sup>

A booth or dome was built for the Prophet (ṢAAS) so that from it he could direct the battle. The dome was the suggestion of Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh,<sup>30</sup> and demonstrates the importance of preserving the life of the leader during the battle.

When the *Mushrikūn* approached the Muslims, the Prophet (ṢAAS) instructed: "No one of you should attack until I give the word." The *Mushrikūn* advanced, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, citing the Qur'ān:

Be quick in the race for forgiveness from your Lord, and for a garden whose width is that (of the whole) of the heavens and of the earth, prepared for the righteous—" (*Āl 'Imrān* 3:133)

When 'Umayr ibn al Ḥammām heard this, he asked, "O Messenger of God, a garden whose width is that (of the whole) of the heavens and the earth?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Yes." 'Umayr said, "Fine, fine?" The Prophet of Allah (ṢAAS) said: What makes you say, 'Fine, fine?' 'Umayr said, "Nothing, O Messenger of God, except that I hoped to be among the people

<sup>27</sup>*Tuhfah al Ahwadhī*, 5/324-5. Al Tirmidhī's *isnād* includes Muḥammad ibn Ḥamid al Rāzī, who is *ḍa'īf*, and Salamah ibn al Faḍl al Abrash who is *ṣaḍūq*, but makes frequent mistakes, as mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *al Taqrīb*. This report is not strong enough to contradict the report of Imām Aḥmad.

<sup>28</sup>Aḥmad: *al Musnad*, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* (5/420). al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/75, from the report of Imām Aḥmad with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>29</sup>Mahmūd Shīr Khattāb, *al Rasūl al Qā'id*, 78-9.

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/287, from the report of al Bukhārī.

of this garden." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "You are among its people." So 'Umayr took some dates out of his quiver and ate. Then he said: "If I remain alive until I finish eating these dates, then it is a long life indeed!" He flung the dates from his hand and fought against the Quraysh till he was slain.<sup>31</sup>

'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) constantly made supplication *du'ā* on the day of Badr. 'Umar said :

On the day of Badr, the Prophet (ṢAAS) looked at the *Mushrikūn*, and they were 1,000, whilst his companions numbered only 319 men. The Prophet (ṢAAS) turned toward the *Qiblah*, stretched out his hands and began to cry out to his Lord: "O Lord, fulfill what You promised me, grant me what You have promised me. O Lord, if you destroy this group of the people of Islam, You will never be worshipped on earth." He continued to call out to his Lord, stretching forth his hands and facing the *Qiblah*, until his cloak fell from his shoulders. Then Abū Bakr came and picked up the cloak, and put it back on his shoulders. Then he embraced him from behind and said: "O Prophet of God, you have cried out enough to your Lord. He will fulfill what He has promised you."

Then the following verse of the Qur'ān was revealed:

Remember ye implored the assistance of your Lord, and He answered you: "I will assist you with a thousand of the angels, ranks on ranks." (*Al Anfāl* 8:9)

And thus angels were sent to him as reinforcements.<sup>32</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) came out of the booth saying:

"Soon will their multitude be put to flight, and they will show their backs." (*Al Qamar* 54:45)<sup>33</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) took part in the fighting himself. 'Alī said: "On the day of Badr; we were sheltering behind the Prophet (ṢAAS), he was the nearest of us to the enemy, and he was the strongest man there on that day."<sup>34</sup>

The fighting began with individual combat, as 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah, followed by his son al Walīd and his brother Shaybah, came forward and issued a challenge. Some of the young men of the *Anṣār* went out to meet them, but they (*Mushrikūn*) refused to fight them, demanding to fight with some of their own people. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered Ḥamzah, 'Alī and 'Ubaydah ibn al

<sup>31</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, with commentary by Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al Bāqī, 3/1509-1510, *Ḥadīth* No. 1901.

<sup>32</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 12/84-5.

<sup>33</sup>From the report of *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*. Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/287.

<sup>34</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/228. Aḥmad Shākir said that it was *ṣaḥīḥ*.

Ḥārith to fight them. Ḥamzah managed to kill 'Utbah, then 'Alī killed Shaybah. 'Ubaydah opposed al Walīd, and they wounded each other. Then 'Alī and Ḥamzah came to 'Ubaydah's aid and killed al Walīd, and carried 'Ubaydah back to the Muslim camp.<sup>35</sup>

The outcome of the single combat affected the Quraysh badly and they launched a general attack. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered his companions to fire arrows at the *Mushrikūn* as they approached. To derive the maximum benefit from the arrows, he said: "When (your foes) come nigh unto you, shoot at them; but use your arrows sparingly."<sup>36</sup> 'Urwah and Qatadah mention that the Prophet (ṢAAS) threw pebbles into the faces of the *Mushrikūn* and the following Qur'ānic verse indicates that this report is authentic.<sup>37</sup>

When thou throwest (a handful of dust), it was not thy act, but God's: in order that He might test the believers by a gracious trial from Himself: for is He who heareth and knoweth (all things).  
(*Al Anfāl* 8:17)

The two armies engaged in a battle during which a number of the *Mushrik* leaders were killed, including Abū Jahl, 'Amr ibn Hishām, whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) had described as "the Pharaoh of this nation."<sup>38</sup> He was killed by Mu'ādh ibn 'Amr ibn al Jamū' and Mu'ādh ibn 'Afrā'. They were youths who did not know whom he was until 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf told them. They told him that they had wanted to kill Abū Jahl because he had insulted the Prophet (ṢAAS), and Ibn Mas'ūd had finished him off after the two boys had wounded him.<sup>39</sup>

Another *Mushrik* leader who was killed was Umayyah ibn Khalaf. 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf had taken him and his son 'Alī prisoner after the battle. Bilāl spotted Umayyah who was the one who had tortured him in Makkah, and said, "The archinfidel Umayyah ibn Khalaf! May I not live if he lives." He called out to the *Anṣār* and they helped him to kill Umayyah and his son 'Alī.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup>Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān ibn al Ash'ath al Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4/49. Ibn Hajar said that it was *ṣaḥīḥ* (*al Fath*, 7/298).

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/306, from a report of al Bukhārī.

<sup>37</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 13/442-3, with two *ṣaḥīḥ isnāds* going back to 'Urwah and Qatādah, but they are both *mursal*. They strengthen one another, because if a *mursal ḥadīth* has many different *isnāds*, it becomes stronger.

<sup>38</sup>Al Haythamī, Nūr al Dīn 'Alī ibn Abū Bakr, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, from al Ṭabarānī, who said, "His men are *ṣaḥīḥ*, except for Muḥammad ibn Wahb ibn Abū Karimah, who is *thiqah*, or *ṣadūq* according to *al Taqrīb*, 2/216.

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/293-6, 321. *Muslim bi Sharḥ al Nawawī*, 12/159-160.

<sup>40</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 4/480, from a report of al Bukhārī. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/286, from a report of Ibn Ishāq with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

It is established in the Qur'ān that God sent angels as reinforcements to the Muslims at Badr, and there are *ṣaḥīḥ* reports that angels did fight at Badr. The relevant Qur'ānic verses are:

God had helped you at Badr, when ye were a contemptible little force; then fear God; thus may ye show your gratitude. Remember thou saidst to the faithful: "Is it not enough for you that God should help you with 3,000 angels (specially) sent down? Yea, if ye remain firm, and act aright, even if the enemy should rush here on you in hot haste, your Lord would help you with 5,000 angels making a terrific onslaught. God made it but a message of hope for you, and an assurance to your hearts. In any case, there is no help except from God, the exalted, the wise. (*Āl Imrān* 3:123-6)

Remember ye implored the assistance of your Lord, and He answered you: "I will assist you with a thousand of the angels, ranks on ranks." God made it but a message of hope, and an assurance to your hearts: (in any case) There is no help except from God: and God is exalted in power, wise. (*Al Anfāl* 8:9-10)

Remember thy Lord inspired the angels (with the message): "I am with you. Give firmness to the believers. I will instill terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. Smite ye above their necks and smite all their fingertips off them." (*Al Anfāl* 8:12)

This is if we regard the subject of "*iqribu*" (smite ye) as referring to the angels. Al Ṭabarī, however, says that it refers to the believers, and that God was teaching them how to strike.<sup>41</sup> The relevant ḥadīth are:

Ibn 'Abbās said: While on that day a Muslim was chasing a disbeliever and he heard over him the swishing of a whip and the voice of the rider saying: Go ahead, Ḥayzūm!<sup>42</sup> He glanced at the polytheist who had (now) fallen down on his back. When he looked at him carefully, he found that there was a scar on his nose and his face was torn as if it had been lashed with a whip, and had turned completely green." An *Anṣār* came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related this (event) to him. The Prophet replied: "You have told the truth. This was the help from the third heaven."<sup>43</sup> (Trans. from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*)

<sup>41</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 13/430.

<sup>42</sup>The name of the Angel's horse.

<sup>43</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/194. Aḥmad Shākir said, "Its *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*." Al Haythamī said, "Its men are *ṣaḥīḥ* except from Ḥārithah ibn Muḍrib, who is *thiqah*. (*Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/75-6).

One of the *Anṣār* captured 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, who said: "O Messenger of God, by God this man did not capture me. I was captured by a man who was bald and had the most handsome face, and who was riding a piebald horse. I cannot see him here among the people." The *Anṣārī* said: "I captured him, O Messenger of God." The Prophet replied: "Be quiet. God Almighty strengthened you with the help of a noble angel."<sup>44</sup>

In the *Maghāzī* of al Umawī, there is a *ḥadīth* with a *ḥasan isnād*:

The Prophet (ṢAAS) dozed off in the booth. When he awoke, he said: "Cheer up, O Abū Bakr, God's help has come to you. This is Jibrīl, wearing a turban, grasping the reins of his steed, riding in a cloud of dust. God's help and reinforcement have come to you."<sup>45</sup>

The following *ḥadīth* is to be found in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*: Jibrīl came unto the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said:

How do ye regard the men of Badr among yourselves? The Prophet answered: "As the best of the Muslims (or he used some similar expression)." Jibrīl said: "And so (do we regard) the angels who assisted at Badr."<sup>46</sup>

These are the *ṣaḥīḥ* reports about the participation of angels in the battle of Badr. Al Subkī explained the wisdom of sending so many angels when Jibrīl alone could have destroyed the *Mushrikūn* by God's command.

This was done so that the real action (fighting) would be carried out by the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his companions. The Angels were merely sent to help them, as reinforcements for the army, taking into account the means and laws which God has set for His creation. God Almighty is the force behind all actions, and He knows best.<sup>47</sup>

Some Muslim writers try to avoid referring to the angel's participation in the battle of Badr. Such avoidance is a sign of defeat in the face of materialistic thought which gives credence only to that which is tangible. Faith in the message of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) demands belief in the angels.

The *Mushrikūn* began to fall, until 70 were killed and 70 were captured.<sup>48</sup> Some of them fell in the places where the Prophet (ṢAAS) had told his

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/284. Al Albānī, in his commentary on *Fiqh al Sirāḥ* by al Ghazālī, 243, judged it to be *ḥasan*. Cf. al Bukhārī's report in *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/312).

<sup>46</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/311-2.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 7/313. Al Subkī's comment explains the Islamic concept of achieving goals by relying on human effort, within the limits of natural and social laws. This comment is indicative of a clear vision and a deep understanding of Islam.

<sup>48</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 12/86-7.



companions before the battle that they would fall, and had mentioned them by name.<sup>49</sup> The *Mushrikūn* eventually fled without turning back, leaving a great deal of booty on the battlefield.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that the dead *Mushrikūn* should be taken to some wells in Badr into which they were thrown. He stayed in Badr for three days and there buried the Muslim martyrs. There were fourteen martyrs whom the sources name.<sup>50</sup> Ibn Ḥajar gives two more names in *al Iṣābah*.<sup>51</sup> The sources do not mention that the Prophet performed *ṣalāh* over them; the *Sunnah* is not to perform *ṣalāh* over martyrs. None of the martyrs was moved from Badr to be buried in Madīnah.

On the third day in Badr, the Prophet stood over the bodies of 24 leaders of Quraysh who had been thrown into one of the wells, and started to call them by name and by the names of their fathers, saying: "Are ye pleased with having (thus) obeyed God and His Apostle? Behold, we have found that our Lord's promises do come true; did ye (also) find that the promises of your lord came true?" Thereupon 'Umar said: "O Apostle of God! Why speakest thou to bodies that have no soul in them?" The Apostle of God (ṢAAS) answered: "By Him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul! Ye do not hear better what I am saying than they do!"

Qatādah has commented: "God made them alive (again) so that they might hear the Prophet's words of reproof, humiliation and chastisement, (and feel) regret and remorse."<sup>52</sup>

After Badr, the Prophet (ṢAAS) no longer pursued the caravan of Abū Sufyān. God had promised him one of the two (enemy) parties, and He had fulfilled His promise by giving him victory over the *Mushrik* army.<sup>53</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) advised his companions to preserve the lives of some of the *Mushrikūn* who had gone out to Badr unwillingly because they had feared the censure of their people; some of them had helped the Muslims when they were in Makkah. Among them, he named al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, and Abū Bakhtarī ibn Hishām.<sup>54</sup> He ordered the Muslims to capture them, but not to kill them.<sup>55</sup> Al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib was taken prisoner, but Abū al Bakhtarī insisted on fighting, so he was killed.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/232, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>50</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 2/248. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/327.

<sup>51</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣābah*, 3/328, 608. They are: Mu'adh ibn al Ḥārith and Hilāl ibn al Mu'allā ibn Lawdhan.

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/300, from a report of al Bukhārī.

<sup>53</sup>See Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/320; 4/313; 5/5, with an *isnād* which Aḥmad Shākir said was *ṣaḥīḥ*, Ibn Kathīr said was *jayyid*, and al Tirmidhī said was *ḥasan*. (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 2/288; al Aḥwadhī, *Tuhfah*, 8/471).

<sup>54</sup>He was one of those who had broken the treaty to boycott the Muslims in Makkah, and had not persecuted them. (*al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/285).

<sup>55</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/76-77, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*, as Aḥmad Shākir says.

<sup>56</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/285. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/69-71.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) consulted Abū Bakr and 'Umar as to what he should do with the prisoners. Abū Bakr suggested that he should ransom them, explaining this by saying, "This money would give us strength against the disbelievers (*kuffār*), and perhaps Allah would guide them to Islam." 'Umar ibn al Khattāb advised killing them, saying, "These are the leaders of *kufr*." The Prophet (ṢAAS) preferred Abū Bakr's suggestion of taking a ransom, but the following *āyah* was revealed which supported 'Umar's opinion:

It is not fitting for an Apostle that he should have prisoners of war until he hath thoroughly subdued the land. Ye look for the temporal goods of this world; but God looketh to the hereafter: and God is exalted in might, wise. Had it not been for a previous ordainment from God, a severe penalty would have reached for the (ransom) that ye took. But (now) enjoy what ye took in war, lawful and good. (*Al Anfāl* 8:67-9)<sup>57</sup>

This *āyah* rebuked them for preferring to take a ransom rather than executing the leaders of *kufr*, but it mentioned that what they had taken was lawful *ḥalāl*. This was the rule at the beginning of Islam; later the leader was given the choice of killing or ransoming the prisoners, or of freeing them without a ransom except in the case of women and children, whom it was not permissible to kill.<sup>58</sup>

The ransom for the prisoners varied. Those who were wealthy paid a ransom of 4,000 *dirhams*.<sup>59</sup> Zaynab, the daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS) paid the ransom of her husband Abū al 'Āṣ ibn al Rabī' with a necklace. The *Ṣahābah* released her prisoner and returned the necklace in deference to the Prophet (ṢAAS).<sup>60</sup> If any prisoner did not have a ransom, he was to teach the children of the *Anṣār* how to write as his ransom.<sup>61</sup> The concern of the Muslims was not so much to take money from the prisoners as to weaken their morale. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said: "Had al Muṭ'im ibn 'Adī been alive, and had he spoken to me on behalf of these soulless people, I would have indeed delivered them to him (without ransom)."<sup>62</sup>

The *Anṣār* wanted to exempt al 'Abbās from paying the ransom because he was an uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and because his grandmother was one of their people, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) refused saying, "Do not exempt him from even one *dirham*."<sup>63</sup> There was no place for favoritism in this situation, even for the uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS). All were equal before the

<sup>57</sup>*Sharḥ al Nawawī 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 12/86-7.

<sup>58</sup>Ibn Qudāmah al Maqdisī, *al Muḡnī*, 8/372-4.

<sup>59</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/90. He said: "Al Tabarānī narrated it, and the men of his *isnād* are *thiqah*."

<sup>60</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, with a *jayyid isnād* (*al Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 14/100).

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., with an *isnād* which includes 'Abī ibn 'Āṣim, who is *sadūq*, but makes mistakes and insists. *Al Musnad*, 4/48.

<sup>62</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/321, from a report of al Bukhārī.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 7/321, from a report of al Bukhārī.

judgment of Allah and His Messenger. This was in spite of the fact that al 'Abbās told the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he was a Muslim, and that he had gone out to Badr unwillingly.<sup>64</sup> Al 'Abbās paid 100 *awqiyah* (a weight of gold) as a ransom, and 'Aqīl ibn Abū Ṭālib paid eighty, while some of the other prisoners only paid forty.<sup>65</sup>

Disputes arose concerning the booty, because the rules concerning its distribution had not yet been legislated. 'Ubādah ibn al Ṣāmit said: "We went out with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I witnessed Badr with him. The battle began, and God Blessed and Exalted defeated the enemy. Some of the Muslims sought and pursued the enemy, some concentrated on collecting booty from the enemy camp, and others were guarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lest the enemy should attack him. When night came and the Muslims gathered together, those who had collected the booty said: "We collected it, so no one else has any right to it." Those who had pursued the enemy said: "You do not have any more right to it than we do. We kept the enemy away from it and defeated them." Those who had guarded the Messenger of Allah said: "You do not have any more right to it than we do. We were afraid that the enemy might make a sudden attack, so we defended Him." Then the following *āyah* was revealed:

They ask thee concerning (things taken as) spoils of war. Say "(such spoils) are at the disposal of God and the Apostle: so fear God, and keep straight the relations between yourselves." (*Al Anfāl* 8:1)

So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided the spoils equally among the Muslims.<sup>66</sup> The *ṣaḥīḥ* reports indicate that the Prophet (ṢAAS) took the *khums* (one-fifth) from the booty, then divided the remainder among the fighters.<sup>67</sup> The *āyah* dealing with the *khums* was revealed among the other *āyāt* (pl. of *āyah*) which deal with the campaign of Badr:

And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to God, and to the Apostle, and to near relatives, orphans, the needy, the wayfarer. . ." (*Al Anfāl* 8:41)<sup>68</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave a share of the booty to nine companions who had not taken part in the campaign because of work they had been asked to do

<sup>64</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 14/73, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>65</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/322, from *Kitāb al Wā'il* by Abū Na'im, with a *ḥasan isnād*, as al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Hajar states.

<sup>66</sup>Aḥmad narrated it with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* (*al Fatḥ al Rabbānī*, 14/73; see al Banna's commentary thereon).

<sup>67</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/316, from a report of al Bukhārī, 317.

<sup>68</sup>See Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/302-3.

in Madīnah, or because of injuries they had suffered on the way to Badr, or for other reasons. Among them was 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. His wife, Ruqayyah, was terminally ill and the Prophet had ordered him to take care of her.<sup>69</sup> As soon as the ruling concerning the distribution of booty had been made clear, the people obeyed the judgment of God and His Messenger and all the disputes ceased. Such was their attitude in every matter in which God and His Messenger gave a clear rule. The booty was distributed at al Ṣafrā', on the way back to Madīnah. Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, in advance of the Muslim forces hurried back to Madīnah with the good news. The Muslims rejoiced at the news but at the same time were afraid that the news might not be true. Usāmah said: "By Allah, I did not believe the news until I saw the prisoners."<sup>70</sup> Everyone was amazed. Had the Quraysh been defeated? Had their leaders been taken prisoner? Had their pride been destroyed? Had the falsity of their gods and beliefs become apparent? Such was the surprise of Sawdah (wife of the Prophet) when she saw Abū Yazīd Suhayl ibn 'Amr with his hands tied to his neck with a rope, that she said: "O Abū Yazīd, you surrendered too readily. You ought to have died a noble death!" The Prophet responded, "Would you stir up trouble against God and His Apostle?" Sawdah then answered, "O Messenger of God, by Him who sent you with the truth, I could hardly contain myself when I saw Abū Yazīd in this state, and that is why I said what I said."<sup>71</sup>

On the way back to Madīnah, the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that two of the prisoners should be killed. They were al Naḍr ibn al Ḥārith and 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ayt.<sup>72</sup> They had persecuted the Muslims at Makkah, and felt a deep hatred towards God and His Messenger. They were among the leaders of *Kufr* and war criminals, and their execution was an awesome lesson to oppressors. 'Uqbah forgot his pride and cried out, "Who will look after my children, O Messenger of God?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) answered, "The fire (of Hell)."<sup>73</sup> "Did 'Uqbah not remember the day when he had thrown the entrail of a sheep onto the head of the Prophet (ṢAAS) while He was prostrating in prayer, and Fāṭimah had come and washed it from Him?"<sup>74</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) exhorted the Muslims to treat the rest of the prisoners well to such an extent that Abū 'Azīz who had been captured by his brother Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr and an *Anṣārī* man narrated that at lunch and dinner,

<sup>69</sup>Al 'Alīmī, *Marwīyāt Ghazwah Badr*, 420-4.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/304, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>71</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/335 with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>72</sup>*Al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/305.

<sup>73</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/89. He said, "Al Ṭabarānī narrated it in *al Kabīr* and *al Awsat*, and the men of its *isnād* are *ṣaḥīḥ*." Cf. report of Abū Dāwūd in *al Sunan*, 2/55, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>74</sup>*Al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/366, with a *ḥasan isnād* going back to al Sha'bī, but it is *mursal*.

his captors used to give him their bread (the more valued part of the meal), and keep the dates for themselves, in response to the Prophet's exhortation concerning the prisoners. They gave him every piece of bread they obtained, whereupon Abū 'Azīz said: "I felt embarrassed, so I tried to return the bread, but he (a Muslim) refused and would not touch it."<sup>75</sup> This attitude is indicative of the decent treatment of captives in Islam, and of giving to the captive the best that his captor has. Such an example is without parallel in the history of any other nation.

Although Badr was only a small battle, it was a turning point in the history of Islam. For this reason, it is described in the Qur'ān as the Day of Distinction (*Yawm al Furqān*) between truth (*al ḥaqq*) and falsehood (*al bāṭil*), and in which Islam achieved great victories. Islam now took precedence in the hearts of the believers over any worldly interests, ambitions, or relationships. Before the battle commenced, the *Anṣār* announced that their commitment to the Faith *aqīdah* was not limited to the written treaty which they had drawn up at the second pledge at al 'Aqabah. They were obedient soldiers, prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of their religion, without any conditions or limits. During the battle, the *Muhājirūn* faced their relatives; son confronting father, and brother confronting brother. But family ties did not prevent the *Muhājirūn* from killing kinfolk because the interests of faith took precedence over all other ties and commitments. Those who had fought at Badr obtained the right to the great esteem which was inherent in the word *Badrī*, to the extent that they formed the highest rank of the *Ṣaḥābah* in 'Umar's (RA) list of soldiers, and received the highest income from the state. Their names fill the first pages of historical biographies. They received material rewards during their lifetimes, and honor and recognition throughout the ages.

The authentic sayings of the Prophet (ṢAAS) extol the merits of the *Badriyūn* (those who participated in Badr) and their high status in paradise.

It was on the day of Badr that Ḥārithah ibn Surāqah al Anṣārī fell; he was very young (at that time). His mother came to the Prophet and said: "O Apostle of God! Thou knowest what Ḥārithah was to me. If he is in Paradise, I shall bear up and shall look to God for my reward. But if it be otherwise then thou wilt see what I do! "The Prophet said "Mercy on thee! Hast thou lost thy senses? Is there only one Paradise? Behold, there are many stages of Paradise; and he is in the loftiest Paradise."<sup>76</sup>

There is also the story of Ḥāṭib ibn Balta'ah who had informed the Quraysh that the Muslims were coming to conquer Makkah, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) forgave him, and said, "Maybe God will look upon those who fought at Badr

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 3/306-7.

<sup>76</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/304, *Ḥadīth* No. 3982.

and will say, "Do whatever you like, (for) now paradise is yours or . . . for now I have forgiven you your sins."<sup>77</sup> When Hātib's servant said, "O Messenger of God, Hātib will surely enter Hell." The Messenger of God said, "That's not true. He will never enter Hell, for he has witnessed Badr and al Ḥudaybiyah."<sup>78</sup>

The outcome of Badr had a profound effect in Madīnah and Makkah, and throughout the Arabian peninsula. The believers in Madīnah gained superiority over the Jews and other *Mushrikūn*. The Jews were disappointed with the outcome and displayed hatred which manifested itself in open hostility. The unexpected outcome angered them and they were unable to control their words and actions which expressed their seething wrath and resentment. They began to commit hostile acts which led to the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā' from Madīnah.

Many people entered Islam, among whom were those who did so only to protect their own interests after they realized that the Muslims were now in the ascendancy. These people were the *Munāfiqūn* (Hypocrites) who professed Islam but concealed unbelief *kufr* in their hearts. Their leader was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl.

The Quraysh in Makkah could hardly believe what had happened. Their leaders and heroes had been killed. There is a *mursal* report which indicates that they showed patience and prohibited any weeping and lamenting for the dead lest the Muslims rejoice at their afflictions,<sup>79</sup> and that they were determined to avenge their dead. They sent 'Umayr ibn Waḥb al Jumāḥī to assassinate the Prophet (ṢAAS), after Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah had promised to take care of 'Umayr's family if he were killed. 'Umayr went to Madīnah carrying his sword. When he reached the Mosque, 'Umar ibn al Khattāb seized him and took him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who asked him why he had come. 'Umayr lied and told him that he had come to ask for the release of some prisoners. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him his real purpose and the arrangement between him and Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah. At that, 'Umayr declared his acceptance of Islam, and asked for permission to call the people of Makkah to Islam.<sup>80</sup> In order to avenge their dead, the Quraysh bought two Muslim prisoners who had been captured during the incident of al Rajī' and killed them; they were Khubayb and Zayd ibn al Dathinah.<sup>81</sup>

## Campaigns After Badr

### Ghazwat Qarqarah al Kudr

The Muslims concentrated their efforts on maintaining the economic siege

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 7/304-5.

<sup>78</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 55/16.

<sup>79</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/340.

<sup>80</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *al Isābah*, 3/36, from a *mursal ḥadīth* narrated from 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr and al Zuhri. It is more likely that al Zuhri narrated it from 'Urwah, and the two *isnāds* are the same at the beginning, but this does not strengthen the *mursal*.

<sup>81</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/308, from a report of al Bukhārī.

which they had imposed on the Quraysh. Some of the tribes who had benefited from the trade of the Quraysh and its route through their territory began to gather an army in order to move against the Muslims. For example, Banū Salīm and Ghatafān joined together at Qarqarah al Kudr, which was a watering place belonging to Banū Salīm. The Prophet (ṢAAS) led an army and mounted a surprise attack on the watering place but found only camels there. The fighters had fled when they heard that he was coming. The Prophet (ṢAAS) stayed there for three days then returned.<sup>82</sup> Ibn Sa'd mentions, without *isnād*, that the booty consisted of 500 camels, and that there were 200 warriors.<sup>83</sup>

### *Ghazwat al Sawīq*

Abū Sufyān undertook an act of revenge whereby he came in secret with 200 horsemen from Makkah and took refuge with Banū Nuḍayr on the outskirts of Madīnah. Then he launched an attack on al 'Urayḍ—a valley in Madīnah on the edge of Ḥarrah Wāqim. He killed two men and burned some palm trees, then made his escape back to Makkah. The Muslims pursued him as far as Qarqarah al Kudr, but did not catch him. They brought back the provisions (*sawīq*: a kind of foodstuff) which the *Mushrikūn* had thrown aside in order to lighten their loads and hasten their escape; hence this campaign was called *Ghazwat al Sawīq*.<sup>84</sup>

### *Ghazwat Dhū Amarr*

Ghazwat al Sawīq occurred in Dhū al Ḥijjah of the third year AH. One month later, the Prophet (ṢAAS) led a campaign into Najd, heading for the tribe of Ghatafān, who had gathered in Dhū Amarr. They fled before him and there was no fighting. He stayed in their territory during the month of Ṣafar, then returned to Madīnah. This was the *Ghazwat* of Dhū Amarr.<sup>85</sup> Al Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd explain that those who had gathered at the watering place of Dhū Amarr were from Banū Tha'labah ibn Muḥārib, a subtribe of the Ghatafān and that the Muslim army numbered some 450 men. Ibn Ishāq differs concerning the date: he reports that the Muslims went out to Dhū Amarr on Thursday 12 Rabī al Awwal in the third year AH.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup>Ibn Ishāq Muḥammad, without *isnād*, *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, (2/421).

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/31.

<sup>84</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ka'b ibn Mālik, but it is *mursal*. (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 2/422-3). Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/30, without *isnād*.

<sup>85</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād*, *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 2/425.

<sup>86</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 2/4. Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/34.

### ***Ghazwat Baḥrān***

Then the Prophet (SAAS) led a campaign to Baḥrān, in the area of al Furū', on the trade route between Makkah and Syria. No fighting took place.<sup>87</sup> Al Wāqidī mentions that during this campaign, he stayed ten days away from Madīnah.<sup>88</sup> Ibn Sa'd mentions that the Muslim army numbered 300 warriors.<sup>89</sup>

### ***Ghazwat al Qaradah***

The Quraysh tried to avoid the economic blockade by using the trade route across Najd to Iraq. Abū Sufyān and some of the merchants of Quraysh went out with a caravan which was carrying mostly silver. The Prophet (SAAS) dispatched Zayd ibn Ḥārithah who met the caravan at a watering-place in Najd called al Qaradah. The Quraysh fled, leaving the caravan as booty. This event took place six months after the great campaign of Badr.<sup>90</sup> Ibn Sa'd reported that Zayd ibn Ḥārithah had 100 soldiers, and that the caravan was carrying silver which had a weight of 30,000 silver coins (*dirhams*), the value of which was 1,000 *dirhams*.<sup>91</sup> As a result of this episode, the Muslims foiled the Quraysh's plans to find a new trade route. The economic siege was thus consolidated and had a great impact on the mercantile economy of Makkah. The Quraysh had no alternative but to take decisive action in order to save their economy and their reputation.

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<sup>87</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād*, (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 2/425).

<sup>88</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/4.

<sup>89</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/35, without *isnād*.

<sup>90</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād*, (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 2/429-430). Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/4.

<sup>91</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/36, without *isnād*.





## ***Chapter 5***



## The Battle of Uḥud

This battle is known by the name of the mountain on which it took place and which lies to the north of Madīnah, at a distance of five kilometers from the Prophet's Mosque, starting from the *Majīdī* Gate. The mountain of Uḥud is formed of red granitic rock and has numerous summits. To the south, it faces a small mountain called 'Aynayn, which after the battle was known as Jabal al Rumāh (the Mountain of the Archers). Between the two mountains lies a valley known as Wādī Qanāh.

The battle of Uḥud took place as a result of the attack which the Quraysh launched on Madīnah, less than a year and one month after Badr. The attack was intended to avenge those who had been killed at Badr, to wrest the trade routes to Syria from Muslim control and to restore Quraysh's standing among the Arabs, which had been shaken after Badr. The books of *Sīrah* agree that Uḥud occurred in Shawwāl of the third year of the *Hijrah*, but they differ as to the exact day. The most well-known reports say that it happened on a Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Ishāq mentions, on the authority of some of his teachers, that the Quraysh had been preparing for the battle of Uḥud since their defeat at Badr, to the extent that they devoted the caravan which had been rescued<sup>2</sup> or the profits from it to prepare the army.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq mentions that eight women went out with them (and gives their names), while al Wāqidī mentions that there were 14 women and includes their names.<sup>4</sup> The Quraysh army numbered some 3,000 men. They had 200 mounted men, with Khālīd ibn al Walīd on the

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<sup>1</sup>The report of the Battle of Uḥud was narrated by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt with an *isnād* which contains some *majhūl* narrators, from al Zuhri and Yazīd ibn Rūmān (al Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* 97); and by al Ṭabarī with an *isnād* which includes Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh al Hāshimī, who is *ḍa'īf* from 'Ikrimah (al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 7/399). This report on the matter is sound, despite its weaknesses.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/1. Ibn Ishāq's Shaykhs include narrators who are *thiqah* and those who are *ḍa'īf*; he collected their reports without distinguishing between them. Some of the narrators are lesser *tābi'ūn*, and their reports are both *mursal* and *ḍa'īf*, but reports such as this one are usually tolerated.

<sup>3</sup>Al Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, *al Maghāzī*, 1/200.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/6, without *isnād*. Al Wāqidī: *al Maghāzī*, 158. Al Wāqidī is *ḍa'īf*.

right flank and 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl on the left.<sup>5</sup> There were 700 men in armor among them.<sup>6</sup>

The *Mushrik* army was composed of Quraysh and their followers from Kinānah and the people of Tihāmah.<sup>7</sup> The Muslims knew that the *Mushrikūn* were going to invade Madīnah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a dream; the dreams of Prophets are true and are part of *waḥy* (revelation) and he told it to his companions:

I saw in a dream that I waved a sword and it broke in the middle, and behold, that symbolized the casualties the believers suffered on the day (of the battle) of Uḥud. Then I waved the sword again, and it became better than it had ever been before, and behold, that symbolized the liberation (of Makkah) which God brought about and the gathering of the believers. And I saw cattle (being slaughtered), but the reward given by God is better than worldly benefits. Behold, those cattle proved to symbolize the believers (who were killed) on the day of the battle of Uḥud.<sup>8</sup>

From this dream, the Prophet (ṢAAS) interpreted that his companions would be defeated and that some would be killed.<sup>9</sup> In another report he said: "I dreamt that I was wearing impenetrable chain-mail, which I interpreted as being Madīnah."<sup>10</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) consulted his companions as to whether he should stay in Madīnah and strengthen the position there; "Madīnah was densely packed with buildings and was like a fortress,"<sup>11</sup> or go out and confront the Quraysh. He said, "I am in a secure shelter." Some of the *Anṣār* said: "O Prophet of God, we would not like to be killed in the streets of Madīnah. We would not permit anyone to invade us during the time of *jāhiliyah* (i.e., we would go out to fight them), and we are even less willing to do so in Islam, so go out and face the Quraysh forces." So the Prophet (ṢAAS) went and prepared himself for battle. Some of the people began to blame the *Anṣār*. They replied: "The Prophet of Allah (ṢAAS) has suggested one thing; are you suggesting another? O Ḥamzah, go to the Prophet of Allah (ṢAAS) and say: 'The matter is up

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/8-12, from a report of Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*. Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/504, from a report of al Wāqidī. There are no *ṣaḥīḥ* reports concerning this matter. These are the reports of the *Akhbārīyūn* who are concerned with such details.

<sup>6</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/504, from a report of al Wāqidī.

<sup>7</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād*, Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/4; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/101.

<sup>8</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/274).

<sup>9</sup>Narrated by Aḥmad (*Faṭḥ al Rabbānī*, 21/50; al Sāʿatī said that its *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*.) See also other reports in *Faṭḥ al Rabbānī*, 21/5. Ibn Saʿd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/45, both with an *isnād* containing men who are *thiqah*, and including the *ʿanʿanah* of Abū al Zubayr, who is *mudallis*.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Abd al Razzāq ibn Hammān al Ṣanʿānī: *al Muṣannaf*, 5/363.

to you.” So Ḥamzah went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said: “O Prophet of God, the people are blaming one another, and are saying that the matter is up to you.” The Prophet (ṢAAS) answered: “Once a Prophet has donned battle dress, he should not take it off again until he has fought.”<sup>12</sup>

It is clear that the Prophet (ṢAAS) accustomed his companions to giving their opinions frankly when he consulted them, even when their opinions differed from his own. He consulted them in matters concerning which there was no revelation, in order to accustom them to thinking about public problems and to dealing with the problems of the *Ummah*. Consultation is useless if there is no freedom for expressing one's opinion. The Prophet (ṢAAS) never blamed anyone for making a mistake in his deductions or coming to an incorrect conclusion. A leader is obliged to consult with others. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was obliged to apply the Qur'ānic injunction to implement the principle of consultation *Shūrā*:

“...and consult them in affairs (of the moment). Then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in God.” (*Al 'Imrān* 3:159)

Here we can see the political awareness of the *Ṣaḥābah*. Although they had the right to express their opinions, they did not have the right to impose them upon the leader. It was sufficient for them to make their opinions clear, then they had to give the leader the freedom to choose whichever of the opinions was the best. When they realized that they had pressured the Prophet (ṢAAS) to go out to battle, and that he was now prepared to do so because of their urging, they went back to him and apologized. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) taught them something else about the characteristics of successful leadership: that the leader should not waver once he has taken a decision and begun to act upon it, because this might shake the people's confidence in him and lead to confusion among his followers.

In brief, those who wanted to go out to battle were motivated by a desire to display their bravery before the enemy. Those who had missed Badr wished to participate in a similar battle.

The opinion of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and those who agreed with him was based upon the idea of utilizing the fortifications of Madīnah to minimize the losses of the defenders and maximize the losses of the attackers, to utilize the energies of the entire population, even those who were unable to fight, such as women and children.

A black banner<sup>13</sup> and three flags were raised. The first was for the *Muhājirūn*,

<sup>12</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *al Tafsīr*, 7/372, with a *ḥasan isnād* which goes back to Qatādah and is *mursal*. Imām Aḥmad completed the chain via Abū al Zubayr from Jābir, but it includes the *an'ānah* of Abū Zubayr, who is *mudallis*. Al Bayhaqī's report is strengthened by a *ḥasan isnād* from Ibn 'Abbās. The *ḥadīth* becomes *ṣaḥīḥ* when all the chains are joined together; this was also the opinion of al Albānī in *Fiḥ al Sirāḥ*.

<sup>13</sup>Khalifah ibn Khayyāt, *al Tarikh*, 67, with a *mursal ḥasan isnād* going back to Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab, whose *mursal aḥādīth* are strong.

and was carried by Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr. When he was killed, the flag was carried by 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib. The second was for al Aws, and was carried by Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr. The third was for al Khazraj and was carried by al Ḥabbāb ibn al Mundhir.<sup>14</sup> Beneath these flags gathered 1,000 men, both Muslims and those who merely pretended to be Muslims. They had only two horses and 100 men in armor.<sup>15</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) wore two suits of armor<sup>16</sup> in spite of the fact that he knew God Almighty would protect him from being killed. He did this to teach his *Ummah* that in any situation they should adopt the available material measures and then put their trust in God.

The Muslim army went out to Uḥud via the western side of al Ḥarraḥ al Sharqīyah,<sup>17</sup> where 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl withdrew with 300 of the *Munāfiqūn*, claiming that there would not be any battle with the *Mushrikūn*. He objected to the Prophet's (ṢAAS) decision to go out to battle and said: "He obeyed them and disobeyed me."<sup>18</sup>

Al Wāqidī mentions that the *Munāfiqūn* withdrew at al Shaykhayn, which is an area close to Uḥud.<sup>19</sup> The Qur'ān explains that the withdrawal of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy and the *Munāfiqūn* took place in order to cleanse the Muslim ranks of their influence and to distinguish the Muslims, so that there would be no one left among them who would spread lies and discourage them.

God will not leave the believers in the state in which ye are now, until He separates what is evil from what is good (*Al 'Imrān* 3:179).

What ye suffered on the day the two armies met, was with the leave of God, in order that He might test the believers, and the hypocrites also. These were told: "Come, fight in the way of God, or (at least) drive (the foe from your city). They said: Had we known how to fight, we should certainly have followed you." They were that day nearer to unbelief than to faith, saying with their lips what was not in their hearts. But God hath full knowledge of all they conceal." (*Al 'Imrān* 3:166-7)

A *mursal* report of Ibn Ishāq from his teacher mentions that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥarām tried to persuade the *Munāfiqūn* to return, but they said

<sup>14</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/33. See also Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Isti'āb*, 3/450. There are no *ṣaḥīḥ* reports concerning the flags.

<sup>15</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/504. Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/44.

<sup>16</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/25, and al Dhahabī agreed with him that the account is *ṣaḥīḥ*.

<sup>17</sup>The area is now known as *Mal'ab al Ta'lim*. In earlier times, horse races took place there. (al 'Ayāshī: *al Madīnah bayna al Mādī wa al Ḥādīr*, 369; and al Bilādī, *Mu'jam al Ma'ālīm al Jughrāfiyah fi al Sirah al Nabawīyah*, p. 170).

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Ishāq (*Sirah ibn Hishām*, 3/8-12, without *isnād*).

<sup>19</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ (Faṭḥ al Barrī)*, 6/162).

what is mentioned in the above verse, and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazām said: "May God curse you, you enemies of God, for God will make His Prophet independent of you."<sup>20</sup>

The behavior of the *Munāfiqūn* influenced two groups of Muslims, who considered returning to Madīnah, but they fought and overcame their weakness with the help of God Almighty and remained with the believers. The two groups were Banū Salamah from al Khazraj and Banū Hārithah from al Aws.<sup>21</sup> The Qur'ān depicts the behavior of the two groups: "Remember two of your parties meditated cowardice; but God was their protector..." (*Āl 'Imrān* 3:122).

The Muslim army camped in the area of al Shaykhayn, where the Prophet (ṢAAS) inspected those who were too young to fight, that is, those who were aged fourteen or under. He sent them back to Madīnah, except for Rāfi' ibn Khudayj whom he allowed to stay when he was told that he was an archer, and Samrah ibn Jundub, when he learned that he was stronger than Rāfi'.<sup>22</sup> Fourteen young boys were sent back, whom Ibn Sayyid al Nās mentioned,<sup>23</sup> and there is an authentic report that the son of 'Umar was among them.<sup>24</sup> The attitude of these young boys who were going courageously and willingly to meet their death is amazing. They were competing with one another to attain martyrdom for the sake of God without being forced to the battlefield by the conscription laws of a tyrannical leadership. Are these not the features of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) method of education and the advantages of the Islamic spirit?

The Muslim army advanced to the battlefield of Uḥud and took up its position according to a precise plan by which the Prophet (ṢAAS) organized the ranks of his army. He placed them in a position facing Madīnah, with their backs to the mountain of Uḥud, and put 'Abd Allāh ibn Jubayr in charge of 50 men on the top of Mount 'Aynayn, opposite Uḥud, in order to protect the Muslims from the possibility of the *Mushrik* cavalry surprising them. He urged them strongly to keep their positions and said, "If you see the vultures descending upon us, do not leave your positions, and if you see us overcoming the enemy, do not leave your positions."<sup>25</sup> Thus the Muslims gained control of the high places, leaving the valley to the army of Quraysh, which advanced with its back to Madīnah and facing Uḥud.

There are some reports, which are weak from the *ḥadīth* point of view, which indicate that before the two armies met in combat, there was an individual

<sup>20</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 9/3.

<sup>21</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/357; 8/325; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/402; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/67.

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/11; al Wāqidī, *Maḡhazī*, 1/109; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 159. No *ṣaḥīḥ* reports have been found concerning this matter. There is a great difference between saying a report is *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view which is rare and rejecting it.

<sup>23</sup>*Uyūn al Aḥbar*, 2/7.

<sup>24</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/276, and Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/142.

<sup>25</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ* (*Fath al Bārī*, 6/162).



contest between 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib and Ṭalhah ibn 'Uthmān, the *Mushrik* standard bearer, and that 'Alī killed him.<sup>26</sup> The reports also indicate that Abū 'Āmir al Fāsiq ('the monk') who was one of the leaders of al Aws, and who had left Madīnah to join up with the *Mushrikūn* tried to persuade the al Aws to join him, but they vehemently refused to do so.<sup>27</sup>

The fighting between the two armies grew intense; the *Mushrikūn* withdrew to their camp, and the Muslims showed great valor. The Prophet (ṢAAS) held up a sword and said, "Who will take this from me?" All the Muslims stretched forth their hands, saying, "Me! Me!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked "Who will take it with its right?" The people stepped back, but Abū Dujānah said, "I will take it with its right." He took it and dealt mortal blows to the *Mushrikūn*.<sup>28</sup>

Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib fought bravely when Sabā' ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā asked for a contest. Ḥamzah fought him and killed him. Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im had promised to free his slave Waḥshī if he killed Ḥamzah. Ḥamzah had killed Jubayr's uncle Ṭu'aymah ibn 'Adī at Badr. Waḥshī lay in wait under a rock, and when Ḥamzah came close to him, he threw his javelin and killed him.<sup>29</sup> Would the likes of Waḥshī be able to fight Ḥamzah bravely and face him openly like a man?

Others were also martyred during the first stage of the fighting, one of whom was the standard-bearer and Islamic instructor *dā'iyyah*, Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr. Khabbāb said:

We migrated in the company of God's Prophet (ṢAAS) seeking His pleasure. So our reward became due and sure with God. Some of us have passed away without enjoying any of the rewards on earth. One of them was Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr, who was martyred on the day of Uḥud and did not leave anything except a sheet in which he was shrouded. If we covered his head with it, his feet became exposed, and if we covered his feet with it, his head became exposed. So the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to us, "Cover his head with it, and put some leaves of the *idhkkhir* plant over his feet, or throw *idhkkhir* over his feet."<sup>30</sup>

When Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr was martyred, 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib took the flag.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Al Ṭabarī, with an *isnād* which is *ṣaḥīḥ*, but is one of al Siddī's *mursal al-ḥādīth*, *Tafsīr*, 7/281.

<sup>27</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Ṣirah*, 3/13; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 1/223, from a report of 'Asim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah, who did not include an *isnād*.

<sup>28</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/384.

<sup>29</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī (Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/375), from a *ḥadīth* of Waḥshī himself.

<sup>30</sup>From the report of al Bukhārī, Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/375. *Idhkkhir*—a grass known for its pleasant scent; when dried, it becomes white (*al Miṣbāḥ*, 1/245).

<sup>31</sup>Khalifah, *Tārīkh*, 67, from the *marāsīl* of Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab, whose *marāsīl* are strong.

The following *āyah* indicates that the Muslims were gaining the upper hand over the *Mushrikūn* with the permission of God at this stage in the battle: "God did indeed fulfil His promise to you when ye with His permission were about to annihilate your enemy. . ." (*Al 'Imrān* 3:152).

When the archers saw that the enemy had been overcome, they said to 'Abd Allāh ibn Jubayr, "The booty! The booty! Our companions have won, so what are you waiting for?" 'Abd Allāh ibn Jubayr said, "Have you forgotten what the Messenger of God said to you?" They answered, "By God we are going to join the people and take our share of the booty."<sup>32</sup> So they went off collecting booty.

This is a *mursal* report from al Siddī which explains what happened after the archers came down from their position on the mountain. Khālīd ibn al Walīd saw the opportunity to outflank the Muslims and approach them from behind. When the *Mushrikūn* realized this, they began fighting once again,<sup>33</sup> and surrounded the Muslims on both sides. The Muslims lost their positions and began to fight without any plan, and could not distinguish friend from foe. They killed al Yamān, the father of Ḥudhayfah ibn al Yamān, who was a very old man. Ḥudhayfah yelled at them: "He is my father!" But they finished him off, whereupon Ḥudhayfah said: "May God forgive you, Who is the most merciful of those who give mercy."<sup>34</sup>

The Muslims' strength and enthusiasm were to no avail because their fighting was disorganized and unplanned. They began to fall in battle as martyrs. The Muslims lost touch with the Prophet (ṢAAS), and a rumor began to spread among them that he had been killed.<sup>35</sup>

The Muslims were at a loss, and many of them fled from the battlefield. Some of them sat at the edge of the battlefield without fighting,<sup>36</sup> whilst others preferred death to life when they had lost the Prophet (ṢAAS). One of these was Anas ibn al Naḍr, who had regretted not taking part in Badr and had said: "By God, if God permits me to take part in a battle with the Messenger of God, God will surely see how I will fight." When he saw some of the Muslims at Uḥud sitting in a state of confusion, he shouted: "How wonderful is the scent of *jannah* which is close to me." He fought until he was killed. More than eighty wounds were found on his body, caused by arrows, blows and stabbing, such that his sister, al Rabī'ah bint al Naḍr, could only recognize him from his finger-tips. The following Qur'ānic verses were revealed concerning him and the other righteous *Mujāhidūn* like him:

<sup>32</sup>From a report of al Bukhārī (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 6/162).

<sup>33</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/28.

<sup>34</sup>Al Hākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/202, stated that the account was a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* according to the conditions of Muslim, although not reported; and al Dhahabī agreed with him. Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/2609, Shākir edition.

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/361, from a report of al Bukhārī.

<sup>36</sup>Concerning the sitting of some of the Muslims at the edge of the battlefield, see Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/33; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 7/256.

Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with God: of them some have completed their vow (to the extreme), and some (still) wait: but they have never changed (their determination) in the least. (*Al Ahzāb* 33:23)<sup>37</sup>

After the battle, the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Zayd ibn Thābit to find Anas ibn Naḍr. He found him among the dead. He still had the last flicker of life in him, and after returning the Prophet's greeting of Peace, the only thing he said was: "I can smell the scent of *jannah*. Tell my people among the *Anṣār* that if any harm befalls the Prophet while any of you still has a spark of life in him, you have no excuse before God." Then he began to weep.<sup>38</sup> How wonderful is this testament and how strong is this commitment which is not affected by death and painful wounds.

The Qur'ān mentioned the flight of the flinchers from the battlefield, and that God forgave them:

Those of you turned back on the day the two hosts met, it was Satan who caused them to fail because of some (evil) they had done. But God has blotted out (their fault): for God is oft-forgiving, most forbearing. (*Al 'Imrān* 3:155)

It seems that the Muslims fled because they had heard that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had been killed.<sup>39</sup> The first one to realize that he was still alive was Ka'b ibn Mālīk, who shouted the good news to the Muslims, but the Prophet ordered him to be quiet, in case the *Mushrikūn* heard him.<sup>40</sup>

A small group around the Prophet (ṢAAS) managed to hold out. He remained on the battlefield, and did not allow the events to disturb him; this was his attitude in all difficult circumstances. He called out to his companions, as mentioned in the Qur'ān: "Behold! ye were climbing up the high ground, without even casting a side glance at anyone, and the Apostle in your rear was calling you back. . ." (*Al 'Imrān* 3:153).<sup>41</sup>

Some of the *Mushrikūn* reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) himself. With him were seven of the *Anṣār* and two men of the *Muhājirūn*. The Prophet asked: "Who will drive them back from us, and will be my companion in *jannah*?" One by one, they fought to defend the Prophet until all seven *Anṣār* had been

<sup>37</sup>Ibn al Mubārak, 'Abd Allāh, *Kitāb al Jihād*, 63; al Bukhārī, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 6/21, 7/274, 8/517). For *sabab al nuzūl* being that the *āyah* was revealed concerning Muṣ'ab, see also, al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/200. He said that this *ḥadīth* was *ṣaḥīḥ* in its *isnād*, although al Bukhārī and Muslim did not report it, and al Dhahabī agreed with him.

<sup>38</sup>From a report of Ibn Ishāq whose *isnād* includes men who are *thiqah* (*Majma' al Baḥrayn*, 2/239; *Sharḥ al Mawāḥib*, 2/44).

<sup>39</sup>Ibn al Jawzī, *Zād al Maṣīr fī 'Ilm al Tafsīr*, 1/483.

<sup>40</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/201. He said, "This is a *ḥadīth* which is *ṣaḥīḥ* in its *isnād*, although al Bukhārī and Muslim did not report it," and al Dhahabī agreed with him.

<sup>41</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 7/301-2.

martyred.<sup>42</sup> Then Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh fought valiantly until his hand was paralyzed by an arrow.<sup>43</sup> Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqās then fought in front of the Prophet (ṢAAS) who handed arrows to him saying, "Throw! Shoot! May my father and mother be a ransom for you!"<sup>44</sup> Sa'd was a very famous archer. Abū Ṭalḥah al Anṣārī also defended the Prophet by shooting arrows. The Prophet (ṢAAS) raised his head to look at the enemy, whereupon Abū Ṭalḥah said, "Do not raise your head, lest an arrow of the enemy should hit you. Let my neck be struck rather than your neck." When a man carrying a quiver of arrows passed by, the Prophet said to him: "Spread them out for Abū Ṭalḥah."<sup>45</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) expressed his admiration of Abū Ṭalḥah's fighting and said, "Certainly, this sound of Abū Ṭalḥah's shouting at the army is more alarming to the *Mushrikūn* than the battle cries of a contingent."<sup>46</sup>

Despite the *Ṣaḥābah's* brave and courageous defense of the Prophet (ṢAAS), the Prophet received many wounds. His tooth was broken and he received a wound on his face. Blood flowed from his face and he wiped it away, saying, "How can a people prosper who have bloodied the face of their Prophet whilst he is calling them to Islam?" Concerning this, the following verse of the Qur'ān was revealed:

Not for thee, (but for God), is the decision: whether He turn in mercy to them or punish them; for they are indeed wrong-doers.  
(*Al 'Imrān* 3:128)<sup>47</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) thought it very unlikely that God would guide those who had harmed him in such a way, but God reminded him that it was not so unlikely if He wished to guide them. When his hopes were thus raised that they would embrace Islam, he said, "O Lord, forgive my people, for they do not know."<sup>48</sup>

It is narrated that Abū Dujānah was defending the Prophet (ṢAAS), shielding him with his back until many arrows were stuck in it, and that his eye was injured, but the Messenger restored it with his hand and it became the better of his eyes.<sup>49</sup>

A man came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asked, "Can you tell me where I shall be should I be killed?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "In Paradise."

<sup>42</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharḥ al Nawawī*, 12/146.

<sup>43</sup>From a report of al Bukhārī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barr*, 7/359.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 7/358.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 7/361.

<sup>46</sup>Narrated by Aḥmad (*Fath al Rabbānī*, 22/589), with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqāt*.

<sup>47</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/149; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/29; al Bukhārī, *Mu'allaq*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barr*, 7/365.

<sup>48</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/149.

<sup>49</sup>Ibn Ishāq, from the *mursal ḥadīth* of 'Aṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah. The account has not been proven through any *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*, but it is well-known in the books of *Sīrah* without *isnād* or with *mursal isnāds*. (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/33; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/242; *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 3/23.

The man threw away some dates he was carrying in his hand and fought until he was martyred.<sup>50</sup>

'Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh prayed to his Lord, "When we meet the enemy in battle, I pray that they will kill me, and then rip open my stomach and mutilate me, so that when I meet You and You ask me "Why did you do that?", I will say 'It was for Your sake.' "When the Muslims met the enemy in battle, 'Abd Allāh fought and was killed, and the *Mushrikūn* mutilated his body. His prayer was thus fulfilled.<sup>51</sup>

'Amr ibn al Jamūḥ was lame and the severity of his disability would have exempted him from *jihād*, but he still insisted on taking part in the battle, along with his four sons, seeking martyrdom. He asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), "If I am killed today, do you think that I will be able to enter *jannah* with this lame foot of mine?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "Yes." 'Amr said, "By Him who sent you with the truth, I will surely enter *jannah* with it today, if He wills." Then he fought until he was killed.<sup>52</sup>

Hanzalah ibn Abū 'Āmir was martyred while in a state of *janābah* (ritual impurity). He had got married the night before Uḥud, and when he heard the call to *jihad*, he had rushed out to battle, without performing *ghusl* (taking a bath). The Prophet (ṢAAS) said: "Your companion is being washed by the angels."<sup>53</sup>

Among those killed at Uḥud was Mukhayriq, who was one of the Rabbis of the Jews of Banū al Naḍīr. He had bequeathed his wealth if he was killed to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who accepted it.<sup>54</sup>

Two old men, whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) had left in the fortress along with the women and children, insisted on joining him in the battle, seeking martyrdom. They were al Yamān, the father of Ḥudhayfah ibn al Yamān, and Thābit ibn Waqsh. They were martyred on the battlefield. Thābit was killed by the *Mushrikūn*, and al Yamān was killed by the Muslims who did not recognize him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) paid the compensation for him, but his

<sup>50</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (al *Faṭḥ*, 7/354); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/154. This obscure man is someone other than 'Umayr ibn al Ḥamām, who was martyred at Badr.

<sup>51</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/199, from the *marāsīl* of Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab. Al Ḥākim said, "This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of the two Shaykhs (al Bukhārī and Muslim), although it is *mursal*." Al Dhahabī said that it was *mursal ṣaḥīḥ*. In my opinion the *mursal ḥadīths* reported by Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab are strong.

<sup>52</sup>Ibn al Mubārak, *Kitāb al Jihād*, 69, from a *mursal ḥadīth* of 'Ikrimah and Ibn Ishāq, from his father, and from two Shaykhs of Banū Salamah (Ibn Hishām; *Sīrah*, 3/44). The accounts strengthen one another because they have different *isnāds*.

<sup>53</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/204. He said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to Muslim's conditions." Al Dhahabī said nothing about it. Al Albānī said, "The *ḥadīth* is only *ḥasan* because when Muslim reported it from Ibn Ishāq, he only included it in *al mutāba'āt* (supportive reports). Ibn 'Asākir has a similar report; he said, "This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ* report" (*al Aḥādīth al Ṣaḥīḥah*, 4/36, no. 326).

<sup>54</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/152, 148. There is no *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* which says that Mukhayriq embraced Islam, but Ibn Ishāq and al Wāqidi mentioned his doing so without *isnāds*, and this is supported by the fact that Ibn Hajar distributed his biography among the *ṣaḥābah* (*al Isābah*, 6/57 for this wealth of Mukhayriq, see Ibn Sa'd, *al Tabaqat*, 1/501; and *Turkat al Nabī*, 78).

son Ḥudhayfah gave it away as *ṣadaqah* (alms), and that increased his favor with the Prophet (ṢAAS).<sup>55</sup>

ʿAmr ibn Uqaysh, who had hated Islam, rushed to Uḥud to join the Muslims. They tried to prevent him from joining them but he said, "I have accepted Islam." He fought until he was wounded whereupon he was carried to his family. Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh came to him and said to his sister, "Ask him whether he was fighting to defend the honor of his people, or whether he was fighting for the sake of Allah." ʿAmr said, "For the sake of Allah and His Messenger." Then he died and entered Paradise without ever having performed *ṣalāh*.<sup>56</sup>

It is reliably reported that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was told of a man<sup>57</sup> who had fought gallantly but he said, "He is one of the people of Hell." Then he told them that the man had fought because of tribal solidarity and not for the sake of God, and that when his wounds had begun to hurt unbearably, he had killed himself with an arrow.

These two reports indicate the importance of the motive *nīyah* in *jihād*. Whoever fights so that God's word may be exalted is fighting in the way of God; but whoever fights for any other reason, however noble it may appear in the sight of men, is not a martyr.<sup>58</sup>

Some of the women went out to Uḥud with the Muslim army. One of them was Umm ʿAmārah Nusaybah bint Ka'b al Māzīniyyah, who felt impelled to fight in defense of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and received many wounds.<sup>59</sup> Ḥamnah bint Jahsh al Asadiyyah brought water to the thirsty and treated the wounded.<sup>60</sup> It is reliably reported that Umm Salīṭ brought containers of water to quench the thirst of the Muslims.<sup>61</sup>

ʿĀishah and Umm Salīm, as authentically related, brought water to the wounded after the Muslims withdrew.<sup>62</sup> These reports indicate that, if necessary, women are permitted to treat and serve the wounded, as long as it is ensured that they will cause no distraction and as long as they are decently dressed as requested. They may fight to defend themselves if the enemy attacks them. Despite the fact that *jihād* is obligatory only for men, if the enemy invades Muslim territory, then all the Muslims both men and women, must fight.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/40; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/202. He said, "It is a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* according to the conditions of Muslim, although they did not report it." Al Dhahabī agreed with him.

<sup>56</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/19; Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/28.

<sup>57</sup>Ibn Ishāq named him *Quzmān*, and al Wāqidi agreed with him (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/4; al Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/263).

<sup>58</sup>Al Haythamī, *al Maqṣad al ʿAlī*, 1/section 80p, from a report of Abū Yāʿlā. Al Haythamī said, "His men are *ṣaḥīḥ*."

<sup>59</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 3/32, with a *munqaṭiʿ isnād*; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 1/268, he is very weak.

<sup>60</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al Zawāʿid*, 9/292, Al Haythamī said, "al Ṭabarānī narrated it, and its *isnād* is *ḥasan*."

<sup>61</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/366.

<sup>62</sup>*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 6/78; al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 12/189.

Despite the wounds which the Muslims suffered, and the injuries which befell the Prophet (ṢAAS), the fighting continued until both sides were exhausted.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) withdrew toward the valleys of Uḥud and the Muslims followed him until he climbed one of the slopes. From there they were able to repel the *Mushrikūn*. According to an established account, God Almighty sent Jibrīl and Mikā'il to defend the Prophet (ṢAAS), because God had guaranteed his safety and protection from the people. However,†÷ there are no *ṣaḥīḥ* reports which mention that the angels fought at Uḥud in any other way, although God had promised to reinforce them, because the promise depended on three conditions: *ṣabr* (remaining firm), *taqwā* (remaining conscious of God), and the enemy rushing in upon them.†×

Remember thou saidst to the faithful: "Is it not enough for you that God should help you with 3,000 angels (specially) sent down? Yea if ye remain firm, and act aright, even if the enemy should rush here on you in hot haste, your Lord would help you with 5,000 angels making a terrific onslaught. (*Al 'Imrān* 3:124-5)

The Muslims were distressed by what had befallen the Prophet (ṢAAS) and themselves. God Almighty caused them to feel drowsy and they slept for a short while. When they awoke, their fear had left them and had been replaced with a feeling of reassurance and confidence. Abū Ṭalḥah al Anṣārī said: "I was amongst those who were overcome by drowsiness till my sword fell from my hand on several occasions. The sword fell and I picked it up, and again it fell and I picked it up."†= According to the Qur'ān, God said:

After (the excitement) of the distress, He sent down calm on a band of you overcome with slumber, while another band was stirred to anxiety by their own feelings, moved by wrong suspicions of God suspicions due to ignorance. They said: "What affair is this of ours?" Say thou: "Indeed, this affair is wholly God's." (*Al 'Imrān* 3:153)

This band which was only thinking of itself, and was not concerned about the misfortunes of the Muslims and the fate of Islam, was the *Munāfiqūn*, one of whom said: "If we had had anything to do with this affair, we should not have been in the slaughter here" (*Al 'Imrān* 3:154).†† Undoubtedly the brief slumber refreshed the Muslims and restored their energy to defend themselves during the withdrawal. Some of the *Mushrikūn* followed them, including Ubayy ibn Khalaf al Jumahī. He swore to kill the Messenger of

†÷ Narrated by al Bukhārī (*Faḥ al Bārī*, 7/358; 10/282; and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/321.

†× Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 7/323.

†= Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*Faḥ al Bārī*, 7/365).

†† Al Ṭabart, *Tafsīr*, 7/323; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 1/418.

God (ṢAAS). The Prophet struck him with a spear and wounded him. He returned to his companions and died on the way back from Uḥud.

The *Mushrikūn* gave up all hope of ending the battle with a decisive victory. They had become exhausted due to the length of the battle and the endurance of the Muslims. They stopped pursuing the Muslims in the gorges of Uḥud, but Abū Sufyān approached the Muslims and shouted to them: "Is Muḥammad among the people?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Do not answer him." Abū Sufyān said: "Is the son of Abū Quḥāfah among the people?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said: "Do not answer him." Abū Sufyān said: "Is the son of al Khattāb among the people?" He then added, "All these people have been killed, for, were they alive, they would have replied." On that, 'Umar could not help saying, "That's not true, O enemy of God! God has preserved what will make you unhappy." Abū Sufyān said: "Superior is *Hubal*!" On that, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said (to his companions), "Reply to him." They asked, "What shall we say?" He said, "Say: Allah is our helper and you have no helper." Abū Sufyān said, "We have (the idol) *al 'Uzzā*, whereas you have no *'Uzzā*!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said (to his companions): "Reply to him." They said, "What shall we say?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said: "Say: God is our helper and you have no helper." Abū Sufyān said: "(This day) compensates for our loss at Badr and (in) the battle (the victory) is always undecided and shared in turns by the belligerents. You will see some of your dead men mutilated, but neither did I urge this action, nor am I sorry for it."<sup>67</sup>

Another report mentions that 'Umar said, "Our dead are in Paradise and your dead are in the Fire!"<sup>68</sup> At first Abū Sufyān felt insulted by the fact that the Muslims did not answer him, then he felt proud and arrogant, until they told him the real situation and answered him bravely.

Ibn Ishāq and al Wāqidī agree that Abū Sufyān arranged to meet them in battle again in a year's time, and that they agreed to this arrangement.<sup>69</sup>

Ibn Ishāq and al Siddī mention that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent 'Alī to find out in which direction Quraysh were moving and whether they intended to raid Madīnah or return to Makkah<sup>70</sup> while al Wāqidī mentions that he sent Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqāṣ to make this reconnaissance.<sup>71</sup> The first report is more reliable. In any case, the Quraysh went away, satisfied with the revenge they had exacted, without looking for a decisive victory which would have involved pursuing the Muslims in the gorges of Uḥud and annihilating them completely, or raiding Madīnah.

As soon as the Quraysh left, the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that the martyrs

<sup>67</sup>Report of al Bukhārī (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/349).

<sup>68</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/209, 6/181, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>69</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/49; al Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1/297.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/49; al Ṭabarī, *Tāfsīr*, 7/319.

<sup>71</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/298.



should be buried. There were 70 martyrs.<sup>72</sup> No Muslims had been taken prisoner. Twenty-two of the Quraysh had been killed, whom Ibn Ishāq names.<sup>73</sup> Abū 'Izzah the poet had been captured by the Muslims. He was executed because he broke his promise to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū 'Izzah had been taken prisoner at Badr but the Prophet (ṢAAS) had released him as a favor after he had promised not to fight against the Prophet. However, he returned and fought at Uḥud.<sup>74</sup>

There is a *ṣaḥīḥ* report that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would wrap two martyrs in one shroud, and he buried those who knew more of the Qur'ān first. He ordered that they should be buried with their blood still on their bodies, and he neither washed them nor performed *ṣalāh* for them. He said, "I will be a witness for them on the Day of Resurrection."<sup>75</sup>

There are some reports which mention that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed over the martyrs of Uḥud, but these reports are not strong enough to contradict the *ḥadīth* which say that he did not pray over them, and the reports have been much criticized.<sup>76</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) buried two or three men in a single grave.<sup>77</sup> Some of the martyrs were carried by their families to Madīnah to be buried there, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that they should be buried in the places where they had been martyred in Uḥud.<sup>78</sup>

When he had finished burying the martyrs, he arranged his companions in ranks and prayed to his Lord and sustainer.<sup>79</sup>

O Lord, all praise is due to You. O Lord, no one can withhold what You have granted, and no one can grant what You have withheld. No one can guide him whom You have decided to lead astray, and no one can lead astray him whom You have decided to guide. No one can give what You have prevented, and no one

<sup>72</sup>Ibn Ishāq mentioned 65 of them by name, and Ibn Hishām added five more (Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/102). The names of other martyrs, whom Ibn Ishāq did not mention, are given in the books of *Sirah* and biographical dictionaries on *Ṣaḥābah*. It was not proved whether many of those whose names were added to Ibn Ishāq's list were martyred at Uḥud numbered 74 (*al Maghāzī* 1/300). A report in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, from Anas and al Barā', gives the number of martyrs as 70 (*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/349, 374).

<sup>73</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/106. Al Wāqidī said 27 were killed (*al Maghāzī*, 1/307), and Ibn Sa'd said 23 (*al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/42).

<sup>74</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/63; Ibn Kathīr, *Sirah*, 3/104; there is not *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* concerning this report.

<sup>75</sup>Al Bukhārī (*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 3/209; 7/374). See report of Abū Dāwūd from another *Ṣaḥābī* with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqāt* (*Sunan*, 2/174).

<sup>76</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sirah Ibn Hishām*, 3/53; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 6/191; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 3/196; *al Marāsīl*, 46.

<sup>77</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan* (al Aḥwadhī, *Tuhfah*, 5/371). He said, "This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*." Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/54-5.

<sup>78</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 3/202; Al Tirmidhī (al Aḥwadhī, *Tuhfah*, 5/279). Al Tirmidhī said, "This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*." Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* (*al Fatḥ al Rabbānī*, 8/149).

<sup>79</sup>Al Ḥakīm, *al Mustadrak*, 3/23.

can prevent what You have given. No one can come near to that which You have brought near. Our Lord, extend to us Your blessing mercy, grace, and sustenance. Our Lord, I ask You for lasting grace, unchanging and never ending. Our Lord, I ask You for bounty at times of poverty, and safety at times of fear. Our Lord, I seek refuge in You from the evil which You have allowed to reach us and from the evil which You have prevented. Our Lord, make us love faith, and make us hate disbelief, iniquity and rebellion, and make us follow the right way. Our Lord, make us die as Muslims, and raise us again as Muslims, and let us join the righteous, with no shame or trouble. O Lord, fight the disbelievers who reject Your Messenger and prevent others from following Your path, and send Your punishment upon them. O Lord, fight the disbelievers to whom Your book was given and who rejected it, O God of creation! He then mounted his horse and returned to Madīnah.

The memory of the martyrs of Uḥud remained with him. He wished that he had been martyred with them and whenever they were mentioned, he used to say, "By God, I wish that I had been left with my companions on the slope of the mountain."<sup>80</sup>

Whenever a picture of the brave warriors came to mind, he used to commend them. When 'Alī gave his sword to Fāṭimah saying, "This is my sword; it has served me well today," the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "If you have fought well, Sahl ibn Ḥanīf, Abū Dujānah, 'Āṣim ibn Thābit al Aqlah and al Ḥārith al Ṣammah have fought well with you."<sup>81</sup>

The women and children of Madīnah came out to see the army return and to search for their fathers and husbands. When Ḥamnah bint Jaḥsh was told that her brother 'Abd Allāh ibn Jaḥsh and her maternal uncle Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib had been martyred, she exclaimed, "We belong to God and to God we return," and asked forgiveness for them. When she was told that her husband Muṣ'ab had been martyred, she shrieked and wailed. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "The woman's husband holds a special place with her, as you can see from her self-control at the death of her brother and uncle and her shrieking over her husband."<sup>82</sup>

The Prophet passed by a woman of the Banū Dīnār whose husband, brother, and father had been killed at Uḥud, and when she was told of their death

<sup>80</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad* (*al Fath al Rabbānī*, 21/58, with a ḥasan isnād).

<sup>81</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/24. He said, "This is a ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth according to al Bukhārī's conditions," although they did not report it. Al Dhahabī agreed with him. Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/123. He said, "Al Ṭabarānī narrated it, and its men are ṣaḥīḥ."

<sup>82</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with an isnād from his father, and from *majhūl* shaykhs of Banū Salamah. Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 1/507; its isnād includes 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al 'Umarī, who was deemed weak.

she asked what had happened to the Prophet. When they replied that thanks be to God he was safe, she asked that she might see him for herself. When he was pointed out to her she said, "Every misfortune now that you are safe is negligible (using the word *jall* in the sense of 'small')."<sup>83</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave glad tidings to the Muslims of the great reward which had been bestowed on the martyrs. He said to the daughter of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr, the father of Jābir, "Why do you weep? The angels provide him shade with their wings until he would be lifted (to his heavenly abode)."<sup>84</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) heard the people of Madīnah weeping and wailing for their dead, and said, "But there is nobody to weep for Ḥamzah." Some of the women of the *Anṣār* began to weep for him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke kindly to them, but strongly forbade them to weep loudly.<sup>85</sup> Thus loud lamentation was forbidden for all time and only tears of grief were permitted.

Concerning the martyrs of Uḥud, the following Qur'ānic verse was revealed:

Think not of those who are slain in God's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord. (*Al 'Imrān* 3:169).<sup>86</sup>

The majority of scholars say that the martyrs are truly alive and that their souls are contained in green birds, and that in *jannah* they are provided for; they eat and lead a life of ease and comfort.<sup>87</sup> Other *āyāt* were revealed which consoled the Muslims and sought to remove the effects of Uḥud:

"So lose not heart, nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith. (*Al 'Imrān* 3:139)

If a wound hath touched you, be sure a similar wound hath touched the others. Such days (of varying fortunes) we give to men and men by turns. . . (*Al 'Imrān* 3:26)

Did ye think that ye would enter heaven without God testing those of you who fought hard (in His cause) and remained steadfast? (*Al 'Imrān* 3:142)

In Madīnah, the Muslims faced the Jews who rejoiced at their misfortune and the *Munāfiqūn* who spread false rumors. In the areas surrounding Madīnah, they faced the *Mushrik* Bedouin, who looked greedily at the wealth of

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/571), with an *isnād* including 'Abd al Wāḥid ibn Abū 'Awn al Madanī, who is *ṣaḍūq*, but makes mistakes.

<sup>84</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/385.

<sup>85</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 7/98. Ibn Kathīr said, "According to the conditions of Muslim." Aḥmad Shākir said, "its *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*."

Al Hākim, *al Mustadrak*, 1/381; he said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim" and al Dhahabī agreed with him. Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/16.

<sup>86</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/123; Abū Dā'ūd, *al Sunan*, 3/15; al Hākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/88. He said "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to Muslim's conditions" and al Dhahabī agreed with him.

<sup>87</sup>Al Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al Qadīr*, 1/399.

Madīnah. There was a possibility that the Quraysh might regret not destroying the Muslims and might return to attack Madīnah. The Muslims had no alternative but to recover and secure their position. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the army which had witnessed Uhud to pursue the army of Quraysh as far as Ḥamrā' al Asad<sup>88</sup> despite the fact that many of them were wounded. He did not allow any one else to take part in this operation. Seventy of the *Ṣaḥābah*, and then the rest of the army, hastened to take part. Altogether in the end, there were 630 men.

The Qur'ān commended their promptness in going out to pursue the Quraysh. Concerning the verse:

Of those who answered the call of God and the Apostle even after being wounded, those who do right and refrain from wrong, have a great reward. (*Al 'Imrān* 3:172)

‘Ā'ishah said to ‘Urwah:

Your father, al Zubayr, and Abū Bakr were amongst them (i.e., those who responded to the call of God and the Messenger on the day of the battle of Uhud). When God's Messenger suffered what he suffered on the day of Uhud and the Pagans left, the Prophet (ṢAAS) was afraid that they might return. So he said: "Who will go on their (i.e., the Pagans') track?" He then selected 70 men from amongst them (for this purpose).<sup>89</sup>

Ibn Ishāq mentions without *isnād* that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stayed in Ḥamrā' al Asad for three days—Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. Ma'bad al Khuzā'i passed by him, and then met Abū Sufyān and the *Mushrikūn* in al Rawḥā. They had determined to return and annihilate the Muslims, but Ma'bad discouraged them; he told them that the Muslims had come out to Ḥamrā' al Asad, and advised them to return to Makkah.

Undoubtedly the campaign of Ḥamrā' al Asad realized its intended goal which was to show that the Muslims were capable of resisting their enemies among the Bedouin and Quraysh, despite what had befallen them at Uhud. If they were capable of undertaking military maneuvers outside Madīnah, they would then be more able to confront the Jews and *Munāfiqūn* within the city.

<sup>88</sup>It is situated eight miles from al Madīnah on the road to Makkah (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/102; *Muḥam ma Ista'jam li al Kubrā*, 2/468; *Muḥam al Buldān* by Yāqūt, 2/301). Al Balādi said, "It lies 20 km to the south of al Madīnah" (*Muḥam al Ma'ālim al Jughrāfiyyah*, 105).

<sup>89</sup>From a report of al Bukhārī (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 7/373).

## Campaigns following Uḥud

One of the results of Uḥud was that the Bedouin around Madīnah became emboldened against the Muslims. This was apparent in the gathering of the forces of Banū Asad in Najd, under the leadership of Ṭalīḥah al Asadī and his brother Salimah, and the forces of Banū Hudhayl in 'Arafāt, under the leadership of Khālīd ibn Sufyān al Hudhalī. They intended to raid Madīnah out of greed for its wealth and in support of their pagan religion and in order to show support for the Quraysh and be more closely allied with them. This occurred in the month of Muḥarram in the third year of *Hijrah*.<sup>90</sup>

The Muslims took action before the matter got out of hand. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al Asad to Ṭalīḥah al Asadī with 150 men. Ṭalīḥah's followers were taken by surprise, and scattered in fear, leaving their camels and cattle for the Muslims.<sup>91</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent 'Abd Allāh ibn Unays al Juhanī to Khālīd ibn Sufyān al Hudhalī. 'Abd Allāh killed him and seized his livestock in Baṭn 'Arnah,<sup>92</sup> a well-known valley near 'Arafāt.

The Hudhayl tribe were well able to avenge Sufyān al Hudhalī, but they resorted to treachery and deceit. In Ṣafar<sup>93</sup> of the fourth year AH, a delegation from the two Muḍari tribes of 'Uḍal and al Qarah came to Madīnah and asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) to send a group of his companions to instruct them in the religion. He sent ten of the *Ṣaḥābah*.<sup>94</sup> Ibn Ishāq said that he sent six; Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah said that he sent seven, and named them and appointed 'Aṣim ibn Thābit al Aqlah as their *amīr*. When they reached a point between 'Usfān and Makkah, nearly 100 warriors of the Banū Liḥyān clan (from Hudhayl) surrounded them and attacked them. The delegation took shelter on some high ground and the Bedouin offered them a guarantee that they would not be killed. But 'Aṣim ibn Thābit said, "I will not come down under the protection of a *Kāfir*." So they fought until 'Aṣim and six of his companions were killed and three men were left. Once again, the Bedouin offered them a guarantee of safety and they accepted. When they came down, the Bedouin treacherously bound them. 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāriq resisted the Bedouin so they killed him. The Bedouin took the other two men to Makkah and sold them to the Quraysh; they were Khubayb and Zayd.

Khubayb was bought by Banū al Ḥārith ibn 'Amir ibn Nawfal, who wanted to kill him in revenge for al Ḥārith, whom Khubayb had killed at Badr. Khubayb

<sup>90</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/50; Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/121.

<sup>91</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/50.

<sup>92</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/496, with a *ḥasan isnād*, and Ibn Ishāq clearly mentioned *al Samā'* in the *Isnād*.

Abū Dāūd, *al Sunan*, 1/287. Ibn Ḥajar said, "Its *isnād* is *ḥasan*" (*Fatḥ al Rabbānī*, 2/437).

<sup>93</sup>Ibn Ḥazm said, "Halfway through Ṣafar" (*Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 176).

<sup>94</sup>Al Bukhārī, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/40.

stayed with them for a while as a captive till they decided unanimously to kill him. At that time, Khubayb borrowed a razor from one of the daughters of al Ḥārith to shave his pubic hair. She was heedless of her little baby who went and sat on Khubayb's thigh. She became terrified that Khubayb might kill the baby in revenge. Khubayb said to her, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? God willing, I will never do that." Later on she commented, "I have never seen a captive better than Khubayb. Once I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes, although at that time no fruits were available at Makkah, and he was fettered with iron chains, and in fact, it was nothing but sustenance bestowed upon him by God." When they took him out of the Sanctuary (of Makkah) to kill him, he said, "Allow me to offer a two *rak'ah* prayer." Then he went to them and said, "Had I not been afraid that you would think that I was afraid of death, I would have prayed for a longer time." It was then that Khubayb first set the tradition of praying two *rak'ahs* before being executed. He then said, "O Lord! Count them one by one," and added, "When I am being martyred as a Muslim, I do not care in what way I receive my death for God's sake, because this death is in God's cause. If He wishes, He will bless the severed limbs." He was then killed.<sup>95</sup>

Zayd ibn al Dithannah was bought by Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah who wanted to kill him in revenge for his father, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, who had been killed at Badr. Before he was killed, Abū Sufyān asked: "I adjure you by God, Zayd, don't you wish that Muḥammad was with us now in your place so that we might cut off his head, and that you were with your family?" Zayd answered, "By God, I do not wish that Muḥammad now were in the place I occupy or that a thorn could hurt him, and that I were sitting with my family." Abū Sufyān commented, "I have never seen a man who was so loved as Muḥammad's companions loved him."<sup>96</sup>

Al Wāqidī thinks that Hudhayl had planned this event<sup>97</sup> in agreement with 'Uḍal and al Qārah. The event is known as "The Event of al Rajī," after the watering place where it occurred. Despite what had happened at al Rajī, the Muslims did not stop sending delegations to tell the Bedouin about Islam. They felt they must spread the message of Islam, whatever the risks.

When Abū Barā' 'Āmir ibn Mālik who was known as the "Player with the Spears" came to Madīnah, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invited him to embrace Islam. He would not do so, yet he was not far from Islam. He promised to protect a delegation which the Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to send to invite the Bedouin

<sup>95</sup>Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/40-1 (Istanbul edition). Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/310-1; Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/165-7; from a *mursal* report of 'Aṣim ibn 'Amr ibn Qatādah.

<sup>96</sup>Narrated by Ibn Ishāq from a *mursal ḥadīth* of his Shaykh 'Aṣim ibn 'Amr ibn Qatādah; he clearly states that he heard it (*al Samā*) from him, but it remains *mursal* (Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/160).

<sup>97</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/50.

of Najd to Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a delegation under the leadership of al Mundhir ibn 'Amr al Khazrajī,<sup>98</sup> in Ṣafar of the fourth year AH.<sup>99</sup> With him were 70 *qurrā'* (those who could recite the Qur'ān). Ibn Ishāq said that they were only 40. When they reached Bi'r Ma'ūnah in Najd, 160 kilometers from Madīnah,<sup>100</sup> they were betrayed by 'Āmir ibn al Ṭufayl, who killed Ḥarām ibn Miḥḥān whom had been sent to 'Āmir as an envoy. At 'Āmir's command, a man stabbed him in the back with a spear. Ḥarām shouted, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the Ka'bah!" The Bedouin of Ri'l and Dhakwān surrounded them and the *qurrā'* defended themselves until they were all martyred, except for 'Amr ibn Umayyah al Damarī, who had been behind the others. He returned and gave the news to the Prophet. The Prophet (ṢAAS) continued to make supplications against Ri'l and Dhakwān for a month during the early morning prayer. This was the beginning of the legislation of the *qunūt*. The 70 *qurrā'* were among the best of the Muslims; they gathered wood during the day, and gave the proceeds from selling it to the Ahl al Ṣuf-fah as charity, and they studied the Qur'ān together during the night.<sup>101</sup>

Thus the Muslims lost 80 of their best missionaries in Ṣafar of the fourth year AH. It was neither easy nor safe to spread the message of Islam in the deserts of the Bedouin. Doing so was fraught with dangers and death, but nothing could prevent the missionaries from conveying the message of God.

The Muslims had no alternative but to teach the treacherous Bedouin a lesson, so the Prophet (ṢAAS) led an army to Banū Liḥyān (who had killed the *qurrā'* in al Rajī) in Jumadā al Ūlā of the fourth year AH. The Bedouin learned of this, and scattered into the mountains. This is al Madā'inī's report.<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ishāq reported that the incident took place in the sixth year,<sup>103</sup> but they may be referring to two different events.

### *Ghazwat Badr al Maw'id*

In Dhū al Qa'dah of the fourth year AH, the Prophet (ṢAAS) went out with 1,500 of his companions and ten mounted horsemen, and with 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib

<sup>98</sup>Ibn Ishaq, from a *mursal* report of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hazm, and al Mughīrah ibn 'Abd al Raḥmān al Makhzūmī, who are both *thiqaḥ* (Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, 76 and Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/174. Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah narrated it from a *mursal* report of 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik; and al Ṭabarī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ka'b ibn Mālik (*Tārīkh al Umam wa al Mulūk*, 2/30-1).

<sup>99</sup>Ibn Hazm dated Bi'r Ma'ūnah at twenty days before the end of Ṣafar (*Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 180). He dated it before al Rajī because he stated that al Rajī took place in the middle of Ṣafar—although he placed al Rajī before Bi'r Ma'ūnah, following Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>100</sup>Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al Buldān*, 5/159, but he estimated the distance as being four *marḥalahs*, and each *marḥalah* is forty kilometers.

<sup>101</sup>Al Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, 5/41-4; this is the number of *aḥādīth* from Anas ibn Mālik. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 7/386-7.

<sup>102</sup>Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, 77, from a report of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al Madā'inī.

<sup>103</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/321; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/81.

as standard bearer. This expedition set out to await the arrival of the Quraysh in accordance with the appointment they had made with Abū Sufyān, the leader of the Quraysh, at the battle of Uḥud. The Muslims waited in Badr for eight days, without the Quraysh arriving. Abū Sufyān had come with 2,000 men and 50 horsemen, but when they reached Marr al Zahrān, 40 miles from Makkah, they had returned on the pretext that it was a year of drought. The effect of their breaking the appointment was that the Muslims' position was strengthened and their reputation restored.<sup>104</sup>

The Muslims continued to send their expeditions in different directions in the Ḥijāz and Najd in order to teach the Bedouin a lesson. Abū 'Ubaydah led an expedition to Ṭayy' and Asad in Najd and the Bedouin scattered into the mountains without any fighting taking place.<sup>105</sup>

In Rabī' al Awwal of the fifth year AH, the Prophet (ṢAAS) led an army of one thousand warriors toward Dūmah al Jandal. He heard news that some of the *Mushrikūn* had gathered there, but when the *Mushrikūn* heard that the Muslims were coming, they scattered. The Muslims stayed in the area for a few days, and sent out expeditionary forces (*sarāyā*), but no battles took place. They returned to Madīnah making a peace treaty with 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥuṣn al Firāzī en route.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/59; Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/120; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/87.

<sup>105</sup>Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, 77-8, from a report of al Madā'īnī without *isnād*. This was among the events of the fifth year.

<sup>106</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/213. Ibn Ishāq said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not reach Dūmah. Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/125.





## ***Chapter 6***



## The Banū al Muṣṭaliq Campaign (al Muraysī')

The Banū Muṣṭaliq was an offshoot of the Yamanī<sup>1</sup> Azdī tribe of Khuzā'ah, and lived in Qadīd<sup>2</sup> and 'Asafān<sup>3</sup> on the Madīnah-Makkah route. Qadīd is 120 kilometers and 'Asafān is 80 kilometers from Makkah. The two places are 40 kilometers apart. The Khuzā'ī territories extend along the route from Madīnah to Makkah between Marr al Zahrān, which is 30 kilometers from Makkah, and al Abwā' (three kilometers to the east of Mastūrah),<sup>4</sup> which is 240 kilometers from Makkah.<sup>5</sup> Banū al Muṣṭaliq, therefore, were in the center of Khuzā'ī territory. They played an important role in the conflict between the Muslims and Quraysh. Khuzā'ah were known for their peaceful attitude toward the Muslims, and the connections of kinship and a peace treaty with the Anṣār may have had the effect of strengthening the relationship between them,<sup>6</sup> despite the fact that there was an alliance between Khuzā'ah and Quraysh, who had a vested interest in the trade route to Syria. Polytheism prevailed in the territory of Khuzā'ah, because there was an idol called Manāt in Qadīd, which was built on a hill called Mushallal. Moreover, their territory was closer to Makkah than to Madīnah.

These factors may also, at the same time, have hindered the spread of Islam among Khuzā'ah in general and among the Banū al Muṣṭaliq in particular. Besides their position on the trade route, they also benefited spiritually and materially from the fact that the idol Manāt al Ṭāghiyah was situated in their territory, and the Arabs made pilgrimage to it.

The first aggressive act of Banū al Muṣṭaliq against Islam came when they joined the Aḥābīsh in the army of Quraysh at Uḥud.<sup>7</sup>

Banū al Muṣṭaliq, like the other tribes around Madīnah, became emboldened against the Muslims as a result of Uḥud. Perhaps they feared that the Muslims

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<sup>1</sup>Al Qalqashāndī, Abū al 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, *Qalā'id al Jumān, fī al Ta'rif bi Qabā'il 'Arab al Zamin*, 93. For the combining of their genealogy with that of the Anṣār (al Aws and al Khazraj) in the person of 'Amr ibn 'Amir, the second grandfather of al Aws and al Khazraj and the fourth of al Muṣṭaliq. See, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *al Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 76, 107.

<sup>2</sup>Al Ḥarbī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al Manāsik wa Amākin Ṭurūq al Hajj wa Ma'ālim al Jazīrah*, 458-60.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 463.

<sup>4</sup>Abd Allāh al Bassām, *Taysīr al 'Allām Sharḥ 'Umadah al Ahkām*, 1/584.

<sup>5</sup>Ibrāhīm al Quraybī, *Marwiyāt Ghazwat Banū al Muṣṭaliq*, 54-8.

<sup>6</sup>Refer to the attitude of Ma'bad al Khuzā'ī in advising the Quraysh not to go back and attack al Madīnah after the battle of Uḥud.

<sup>7</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/61; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 1/200.

would take revenge on them because of the role they had played at Uḥud. They also wanted the trade route to remain open for Quraysh, and not be threatened, because they had a genuine interest in it. Under the leadership of al Ḥārith ibn Abū Ḍarār, they prepared for this campaign by gathering men and weapons and by inciting the neighboring tribes against the Muslims.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Barīdah ibn al Ḥusayb al Aslamī to find out their circumstances. He pretended to come to their aid and found out that they were intending to attack Madīnah. He returned and told the Prophet (ṢAAS) of their plot.<sup>8</sup>

On Monday, the second day of Sha'bān of the fifth year AH, the Prophet (ṢAAS) left Madīnah with his army and headed for the territory of Banū al Muṣṭaliq. This is the most likely version and is the *ṣaḥīḥ* report of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah which he narrated from al Zuhri and 'Urwah.<sup>9</sup> Abū Ma'shar al Sindī, al Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd<sup>10</sup> followed Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, as did Ibn Qayyim and al Dhahabī.<sup>11</sup> Ibn Ishāq suggests that the event took place in Sha'bān of the sixth year AH, but this conflicts with the reports of al Bukhārī and Muslim which state that Sa'd ibn Mu'adh took part in the campaign of Banū al Muṣṭaliq, despite the fact that he was martyred during the campaign of Banū Qurayzah, which took place immediately after al Khandaq (the Battle of the Ditch).<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the campaign of Banū al Muṣṭaliq could only have taken place before al Khandaq.

There are no *ṣaḥīḥ* reports concerning the number of men in the army which left Madīnah and headed for the territory of Banū al Muṣṭaliq, but al Dhahabī said that there were 700 warriors.<sup>13</sup> Al Wāqidī said that there were 30 mounted men with them, ten from the *Muhājirūn* and 20 from the *Anṣār*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/63. He collected the *isnād* at the beginning of the book and at the beginning of this volume. On this page he referred to it by saying *qālū* (they said). This is through al Wāqidī and Abū Ma'shar al Sindī and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, and their *ḥadīth* were intermingled. This joining of the *isnāds* is unsound, because when weak and *thiqāt* narrators are joined together, it is difficult to separate what is valid from what is not. Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/404-5.

<sup>9</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 30/242, 4/156; al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9.54. Its *isnād* includes Ibn Lahī'ah whose record became confused after his books had been burned. The report here is not through al 'Abādīlah. The *isnād* also includes Muḥammad ibn Falīḥ who is *ṣadūq* but sometimes unclear. The sayings of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah were reported by al Ḥakīm, Abū Sa'id 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al Nisābūrī, and al Bayhaqī in *al Dalā'il*. Al Bukhārī's report from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah states that it happened in the fourth year, but this is a slip of the pen (see Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/430).

<sup>10</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/430; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/404; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/63.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 3/125; al Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al Islām*, 2/275.

<sup>12</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/115; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/471-2.

<sup>13</sup>Al Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al Islām (al Maghāzī)*, 1/230.

<sup>14</sup>Al Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1/404.

There are two important reports concerning what happened at al Muraysī, which is a watering-place at Qadīd, in the territory of Banū al Muṣṭaliq. Al Bukhārī and Muslim both report from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, who was an eyewitness, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) attacked Banū al Muṣṭaliq and caught them unaware while they were watering their flocks. He killed their men and took their women prisoners, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) took Juwayriyah as his share of the war captives.<sup>15</sup> The wording of Muslim is as follows: "I wrote to Nāfi' to ask him about inviting the enemy to Islam before engaging in battle. He wrote to me and told me that was the practice at the very beginning of Islam, but that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had attacked Banū al Muṣṭaliq and caught them unaware. . ."<sup>16</sup>

From Muslim's report, it is obvious that the attack on Banū al Muṣṭaliq took place without warning,<sup>17</sup> because the Prophet had already conveyed the message of Islam to them. They were therefore considered to be in a state of war with the Muslims from the time they participated in the battle of Uḥud on the side of Quraysh and were now mobilizing in order to wage war on the Muslims. They were taken by surprise, panicked, and were not able to offer resistance for long. The reports of al Bukhārī and Muslim do not mention resistance but Ibn Ishāq reports that there was fighting at the watering-place of al Muraysī, after which the Banū al Muṣṭaliq were routed. Some of them were killed and the Muslims seized their children, women and wealth, and apportioned them amongst themselves.<sup>18</sup>

There are no *ṣaḥīḥ* reports concerning the numbers killed or captured or the amount of wealth seized, apart from Ibn Ishāq's report that 100 families of Banū al Muṣṭaliq were freed.<sup>19</sup> Al Wāqidi mentions that ten of Banū al Muṣṭaliq were killed and the rest taken prisoners, and that "not one of them escaped."<sup>20</sup> He also reports that the booty consisted of 1,000 camels and 5,000 sheep, and that 200 families were taken prisoner.<sup>21</sup> It was also reported that there were more than 700 prisoners.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/129, the wording is his.

<sup>16</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/139.

<sup>17</sup>Al Wāqidi differs. He mentions that the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb to shout to Banū al Muṣṭaliq and call them to Islam; but al Wāqidi's reports are questionable since he is the only one who mentions them. Al Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/404-7.

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 2/290-3; from the *marāṣil* of three of his *thiqaḥ shaykhs*. He did not distinguish between these reports, which might have strengthened them. Rather, he joined and reconciled them.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 2/294, 643. Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrah*, 1/245, with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqaḥ*.

<sup>20</sup>He probably meant those who had been present at the battle, since their leader, al Ḥārith ibn Ḍarār was not taken prisoner.

<sup>21</sup>Al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 1/26; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/64. "Two hundred families," i.e., each woman was a "family," and she had the members of her family with her. There is no contradiction between this suggestion and the report which says that they were more than 700.

<sup>22</sup>Al Zarqānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al Bāqī ibn Yūsuf, *Sharḥ al Mawāhib al Ladunniyyah*, 3/245.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) returned to Madīnah at the beginning of Ramaḍān, after he had been away for almost a month.<sup>23</sup>

At the watering place of al Muraysi' the hypocrites (*Munāfiqūn*) in the midst of the Muslims revealed the hatred which they felt toward Islam and the Muslims. When Islam achieved a new victory, their anger increased and they looked forward to the day when the Muslims would be defeated and they could feel avenged. When the Muslims triumphed at al Muraysi', the *Munāfiqūn* sought to stir up the traces of tribalism between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*. When that attempt failed, they tried to harm the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his family by launching a bitter psychological war through slander *ḥadīth al ifk* which they fabricated.

The Ṣaḥābī Zayd ibn Arqam was an eyewitness who played a role in the first incident. He narrated a report concerning it:

While I was taking part in a *ghazwah*,<sup>24</sup> I heard 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy saying, "Don't spend on those who are with God's Messenger, that they may disperse and go away from him. If we return to Madīnah, surely the more honorable will expel the meaner amongst them." I reported that (saying) to my uncle<sup>25</sup> or to 'Umar, who, in his turn, informed the Prophet (ṢAAS) of it. The Prophet (ṢAAS) called me and I narrated to him the whole story. Then God's Messenger sent for 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy and his companions and they took an oath that they did not say that. So God's Messenger disbelieved what I said and believed him. I was distressed as I never was before. I stayed at home and my uncle said to me, "You just wanted God's Messenger to disbelieve your statement and hate you." So God Almighty revealed (the *sūrah* beginning with), "When the hypocrites come to you . . . (*Al Munāfiqūn*, 63:1).<sup>26</sup> The Prophet then sent for me and recited it and said, 'O Zayd! God has confirmed your statement.'<sup>27</sup>

Another eyewitness, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al Anṣārī, narrated what happened at the watering place of al Muraysi' which led to the *Munāfiqūn* stirring up the traces of *ʿaṣabiyyah* and seeking to destroy the unity of the Muslims.

<sup>23</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 1/404.

<sup>24</sup>Other reports made it clear that it was the *Ghazwah* of Banū Muṣṭaliq (see Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/392-3, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*; *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/649, from *Mustakhraj al Ismāʿīlī*, with additional *ṣaḥīḥ* material; al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5/90. He said, "This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*").

<sup>25</sup>By "his uncle," he meant Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, who was the leader of al Khazraj, and who was not his real uncle. By "'Umar," he meant 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/645.

<sup>26</sup>The *sūrah* was revealed on the way back from the campaign. Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5/88, "This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*."

<sup>27</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/126-7; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/119.

He said: "We were on a raid when one of the *Muhājirūn* kicked one of the *Anṣār*. The *Anṣār* said, 'O *Anṣār*! Help me! and the *Muhājir* said, 'O *Muhājirūn*! Help me! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard them and said, 'Why are you stirring up something which belongs to the *jāhiliyah*?' They said, 'O Messenger of God, one of the *Muhājirūn* kicked one of the *Anṣār*.' 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy heard this and said, 'Have they gone so far? By God, when we return to Madīnah, surely the more honorable will expel the meaner among them.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) heard about this, and 'Umar stood up and said, 'Let me cut off this *Munāfiq's* head! The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Leave him be. I do not want the people to say that Muḥammad kills his companions.'" The *Anṣār* were greater in number than the *Muhājirūn* when they first came to Madīnah, but later on the *Muhājirūn* increased in number.<sup>28</sup>

There are other strong reports<sup>29</sup> which contradict this and say that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy made this statement during the campaign to Tabūk. This is a misconception; the *ṣaḥīḥ* version is that he did not participate in the Tabūk campaign.<sup>30</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) made it clear that *ʿaṣabiyyah* belonged to the *jāhiliyah*. He said: "Support your brother whether he is the oppressor or the oppressed. If he is the oppressor, then support him by stopping him, and if he is the oppressed, then support him."<sup>31</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) made mutual support one of the conditions of seeking truth and justice and invalidated the *jāhili* understanding of the expression, "Support your brother whether he is the oppressor or the oppressed."

His concern for the reputation of the Muslims among the tribes is apparent from the fact that he did not punish the *Munāfiq* 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy because he wanted to bring the tribes closer to Islam and to prevent any propaganda that might drive them away from it. The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not deal with the situation only by speaking to his men, but he walked with the men all that day until nightfall, and through the night until morning and during the following day until the sun distressed them. Then he halted them, and as soon as they touched the ground, they fell asleep. He did this to distract their minds from what 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy had said to create dissension.

The position of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl among his own people grew weak and they began to blame him whenever he made a mistake.<sup>32</sup> His son, 'Abd Allāh, even asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) for permission to kill his father, but the Prophet forbade him saying, "No, deal kindly with him and behave

<sup>28</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/146, 6/128; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/19.

<sup>29</sup> Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5/89; al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 6/127.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 4/369; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/644.

<sup>31</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/19.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/290-3, from Ibn Ishāq, *mursal* from three of his *thiqah shaykhs*. It is supported by a *mursal jayyid ḥadīth* from the *marāsīl* of 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr (*Fath al Bārī*, 8/649). The same meaning is given in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (al Bukhārī, 6/127; Muslim, 8/119).



well in his company.”<sup>33</sup> ‘Abd Allāh prevented his father from entering Madīnah until the Prophet had given him permission to do so.<sup>34</sup> He did this despite the fact that he used to treat his father well and respect him.<sup>35</sup> This is a most astonishing attitude indicating the purity of the son’s faith and the fact that he was free from any trace of *jāhili ‘aṣabīyah*, despite his generation being so close to such influences. This incident explains the strength of the effect which Islam has on its followers and the profound changes which it brings about in their standards and behavior.

After the *Munāfiqūn*’s attempts to stir up *‘aṣabīyah* had failed, they became blind with rage. They found an opportunity to harm the Prophet himself (ṢAAS) and his family. ‘Āishah, his wife, had gone out with him on the campaign against Banū al Muṣṭaliq. This was after God had legislated the *ḥijāb* for women. On the way back, when the Muslims were drawing close to Madīnah, she got out of her howdah to answer a call of nature. When she returned, she realized that her necklace was missing, so she went back to look for it. Meanwhile the men came and lifted her howdah onto the camel. They did not realize that she was not in it, because she was small and light. The Muslims went back to Madīnah leaving her in the desert. She found her necklace but then realized that she had missed the caravan. She stayed where she was waiting until they realized that she was missing and came back for her. Ṣafwān ibn al Mu‘aṭṭal al Salamī, one of the best companions, passed her. He put her on his camel and brought her to Madīnah. He reached Madīnah after the Prophet had entered the city. The *Munāfiqūn* seized upon this incident and fabricated lies about it. The ringleader was ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl who encouraged Mistāḥ ibn Athāthah, Ḥassān ibn Thābit and Ḥamnah bint Jaḥsh to talk about it. In this way, ‘Āishah Umm al Mu‘minīn (mother of the faithful) was slandered and falsely accused.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was greatly distressed by the propaganda of the *Munāfiqūn*. He announced this to the Muslims gathered in the Mosque, saying that he trusted his wife and his companion, Ṣafwān ibn al Mu‘aṭṭal. Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh declared his willingness to kill whoever spread these rumors from al Aws. Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubadah voiced his objection to Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh and there would have been conflict between al Aws and al Khazraj, if the Prophet (ṢAAS) had not calmed them down.

‘Āishah became ill and asked the Prophet to allow her to go to her father’s house, which he did. Then she learned of the slander. Her tears did not cease, neither could she sleep. She expected God to tell His Prophet of her innocence through revelation. Revelation however did not come for a month during which

<sup>33</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma‘ al Zawā‘id*, 9/318, from a report of al Bazzār. He said, “Its men are *thiqah*.” See also the report of al Ṭabarānī from the *marāsīl* of ‘Urwah. Al Haythamī said, “Its men are *ṣaḥīḥ*.”

<sup>34</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5/90. He said, “This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*.”

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/293.

the Prophet (ṢAAS) suffered a great deal. The *Munāfiqūn* discredited his honor and hurt him by defaming his wife. Undoubtedly he was longing for revelation when he was most in need of it to put his mind at rest, to silence the *Munāfiqūn* and to defend his beloved wife and her father, who were most dear to him. Then the following verses were revealed.

Those who brought forward the lie are a body among yourselves: think it not to be an evil to you; on the contrary it is good for you: to every man among them (will come the punishment) of the sin that he earned, and to him who took on himself the lead among them, will be a penalty grievous.

Why did not the believers, men and women, when ye heard of the affair, put the best construction on it in their own minds and say, "This (charge) is an obvious lie?" Why did they not bring four witnesses to prove it? When they have not brought the witnesses, such men, in the sight of God, (stand forth) themselves as liars!

Were it not for the grace and mercy of God on you, in this world and the hereafter, a grievous penalty would have seized you in that ye rushed glibly into this affair. Behold, ye received it on your tongues, and said out of your mouths things of which ye had no knowledge; and ye thought it to be a light matter, while it was most serious in the sight of God.

And why did ye not, when ye heard it, say? "It is not right of us to speak of this: glory to God! this is a most serious slander!" God doth admonish you, that ye may never repeat such conduct, if ye are (true) believers. And God makes the signs plain to you: for God is full of knowledge and wisdom. Those who love (to see) scandal published broadcast among the believers, will have a grievous penalty in this life and in the hereafter: God knows, and ye know not.

Were it not for the grace and mercy of God on you, and that God is full of kindness and mercy, (ye would be ruined indeed). (*Al Nūr* 24:11-20)

Abū Bakr used to spend money for his relative, Miṣṭāḥ. He swore that he would no longer do so. The *āyah* was then revealed:

Let not those among you who are endued with grace and amplitude of means resolve by oath against helping their kinsmen. . . Do you not wish that God should forgive you? (*Al Nūr* 24:22)

Abū Bakr then went back to spending money on him.

Undoubtedly the three Muslims mentioned above took part in spreading the slander, but a greater role was played by the *Munāfiqūn* led by 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl. I mentioned the three because they were Muslims who should not have fallen into the *Munāfiqūn's* trap. The Qur'ān blamed them in the following *āyah*:

Why did not the believers, men and women, when ye heard of affair put the best construction on it in their own minds and say, "This (charge) is an obvious lie." (*Al Nūr* 24:12)

Many of the believers were fully aware of what went on in the Prophet's (ṢAAS) household, and had great trust in the members of his family. When Abū Ayyūb al Anṣārī heard the rumors of the *Munāfiqūn*, he said, "It is not right of us to speak of this: Glory to God! this is a most serious slander!" (*Al Nūr* 24:16).

The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered Miṣṭāḥ, Ḥassān and Ḥamnah to be given the fixed punishment *Ḥadd* for slander.<sup>36</sup> He did not inflict any punishment on 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl, who had played a leading role in spreading the lies and propaganda. This may have been because punishment is an expiation for crimes, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy was one of those to whom Allāh had promised a severe punishment in the hereafter, so he was not worth punishing. It is said that this *Munāfiq* did not do anything which could count as evidence against him, so he never spoke of the *ifk* (slander) in front of the believers.<sup>37</sup> Some weak *ḥadīth* were also narrated which say that he was punished.<sup>38</sup>

The truth is that the *ḥadīth al ifk* almost rekindled the flames of *ʿaṣabiyyah* between al Aws and al Khazraj. Their leaders argued angrily in the Mosque and this was the aim of the *Munāfiqūn*: to destroy the unity of the Muslims, to shake their trust in their leaders, and to kindle the flames of dissension *fitnah* among them. But God Almighty protected them from harm. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was able to pacify them and preserve their unity and they managed to pass through the difficult test successfully.

In compensation for the test of her patience and trust in God, some Qur'ānic verses were revealed which proved 'Ā'ishah's innocence and which Muslims throughout the ages have recited in the worship of God.

Soon after the Prophet (ṢAAS) had returned to Madīnah, Juwayriyah bint al Ḥārith ibn Abū Ḍirār came to him to ask him to help her to free herself from Thābit ibn Qays ibn al Shammās to whom she had been allocated as part of the booty. She had made a contract with him for her freedom and she told the Prophet of her high status among her own people. He paid the

<sup>36</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 9/230, from a report of al Bazzār with a *ḥasan isnād*; al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan*, 8/250, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>37</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/127-8.

<sup>38</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 9/237-240; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 8/479-481.

rest of her ransom for her and married her. When the people heard of this, they freed the rest of the prisoners and said, "They are the Messenger's (ṢAAS) relations by marriage." One hundred families were released. "No woman was a greater blessing to her people than she."<sup>39</sup> Her ransom was her dowry.

Al Ḥārith ibn Abū Ḍarār came to Madīnah and asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) to let her go. He gave him permission to give her the choice and when he did so, she chose to stay with the Prophet (ṢAAS). Al Ḥārith ibn Abū Ḍirār and his people became Muslims and the Prophet (ṢAAS) put him in charge of his people's *ṣadaqah*.

The Prophet's (ṢAAS) marriage to Juwayriyah and the freeing of the prisoners had a far-reaching influence on the softening of their hearts towards Islam. Then entered a new era of participation in the *jihād* in defense of Islam and of obedience to God and His laws. Once, when the "*Ṣadaqah* Collector" of the Prophet was late in collecting their *zakāh*, al Ḥārith ibn Abū Ḍirār and his people became anxious and decided to go to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to find out the reason. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had sent al Walīd ibn 'Uqbah to collect the *ṣadaqah* but on the way he became afraid and returned to Madīnah claiming that they had withheld their *zakāh* from him and had wanted to kill him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent an expedition to them. Al Ḥārith swore that he had not seen al Walīd, and went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to explain his position. The following verse was revealed concerning him:

O ye who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye have done. (*Al Ḥujurat* 49:6)

This report is the most valid concerning the occasion for the revelation (*sabab al nuzūl*) of this *āyah*, as Ibn Kathīr says.<sup>40</sup> The event occurred after al Walīd ibn 'Uqbah had embraced Islam, at the conquest of Makkah.<sup>41</sup> The report indicates that Islam had become well established among Banū al Muṣṭaliq and that their belief was strong only a few years after the campaign against them.

Several laws (*aḥkām*) resulted from this campaign, among which were the following:

1. The permissibility of attacking without warning those who have already heard the message of Islam. If there is anybody who has not heard the message of Islam, he must first be invited to Islam before engaging him in battle.
2. The permissibility of making the freeing of a captive the dowry, as the Prophet (ṢAAS) did with Juwayriyah bint al Ḥārith during this *ghazwah*, and

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/294, 645, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/347.

<sup>40</sup>Al Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al Qadīr*, 5/60, 62.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Hajar, *al Isābah*, 2/516.

as he did with Safiyyah bint Ḥuyay ibn Akḥṭab in the campaign of Khaybar,<sup>42</sup> as we shall see below.

3. The legitimacy of casting lots between wives when wishing to travel with one of them, as the Prophet (ṢAAS) did on this occasion. The lot fell to 'Āishah, so he took her with him.<sup>43</sup> Al Wāqidī mentions that Umm Salamah also went out to this *ghazwah*, but this has not been established.<sup>44</sup> The fact that 'Āishah went out indicates that it is permissible for women to go out to military campaigns. I have already discussed this and the conditions pertaining to it in the context of the battle of Uḥud.

4. Instituting the *ḥadd*, the fixed penalty, for those who commit slander.

5. The permissibility of taking Arabs as prisoners of war as happened during this *ghazwah*. This is the opinion of the majority of scholars.<sup>45</sup>

All of the scholars, without exception agreed that whoever insults or blames 'Āishah (may God be pleased with her) after she has clearly been proven innocent by the text of the Qur'ān, is an infidel (*kāfir*) because he is contradicting the Qur'ān.<sup>46</sup>

Another of the laws which became known during this campaign was the law of coitus interruptus. The *Ṣaḥābah* asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) about this and in giving his permission he said, "Why should you not do it? There is no soul that is destined to exist but will come into existence, till the day of resurrection."<sup>47</sup> The majority of the '*Ulamā*' suggested that coitus interruptus with a free wife is permissible if done with her permission.<sup>48</sup>

The *ḥādīth al ifk* clearly shows the humanness of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was deeply affected by the slander of the *Munāfiqūn* against his wife. In spite of his concern for her and his love for her and her father, he was not able to find out the truth of the matter or to ask for revelation which was withheld for a month in order to try and test him. If the revelation had been a kind of inspiration or a mental process, that is, something which sprang from his mind, then the many factors which were placing him under immense pressure would have been enough to stimulate the coming of revelation in order to bring an end to the conflict and worry which troubled him. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) was only a man as the Qur'ān says: "Say: 'I am but a man like yourselves, (but) the inspiration has come to me. . .'" (*Al Kahf* 18:110). He had no control over the revelation and was not able to summon it nor add to it.

<sup>42</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bari*, 5/170; al Shāfi'i, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al Muṭṭalibī, *Kitāb al Umm*, 4/186. Majd al Dīn ibn Taymiyah, *Muntaqā al Akhbār*, (7/245), 8/4 (with *Nayl al Awṭār*).

<sup>43</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 3/276; al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 5/643.

<sup>44</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/129, 5/96, 7/29, 8/104.

<sup>45</sup>Al Ṭahāwī, Abū Ghafār Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salamah, *Ma'ānī al Athār*, 3/30-5; Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al Shawkānī, *Nayl al Awṭār*, 6/222-4.

And if the Apostle were to invent any sayings in Our name, We should certainly seize him by his right hand, and We should certainly then cut off the artery of his heart: nor could any of you withhold him (from Our wrath). (*Al Ḥāqqah*, 69:47)

Undoubtedly the military movements of the Muslims throughout the Arabian peninsula, their challenge to Quraysh at Badr al Maw'id, and their continued pressure on the economy of Makkah due to their control of the trade routes, all drove the *Mushrikūn* to make an alliance with the Jews of Madīnah, of whom the Muslims later expelled two tribes, Banū Qaynuqa' and Banū Naḍir. Qurayzah pretended still to respect the alliance between themselves and the Muslims, but in their hearts was hatred and the desire for attack and revenge. This became clear during the events of *Ghazwat al Aḥzāb*.



## ***Chapter 7***





## The Battle of the Ditch (the Confederates) (*Ghazwat al Khandaq (al Aḥzāb)*)

*Ghazwat al Aḥzāb* took place in Shawwāl of the fifth year. This is the opinion of the majority of scholars including Ibn Ishāq, al Wāqidī, and those who followed them.<sup>1</sup> Al Zuhri, Mālik ibn Anas and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah reported that it took place in the fourth year.<sup>2</sup> In fact, there is no real difference between the two opinions. Those who considered it to be in the fourth year reckoned the dates from the Muḥarram after the *hijrah* and ignored the months from Rabī' al Awwal which preceded it. Thus, in their view, Badr took place in the first year, Uḥud in the second, and Khandaq in the fourth. This contradicts the opinion of the majority, who reckon dates from the Muḥarram of the year of the *hijrah*.<sup>3</sup> Therefore the historians agree that al Khandaq took place in the fifth year. Ibn Ḥazm is the only one who says that al Khandaq took place only one year after Uḥud.<sup>4</sup> He based his view on the apparent meaning of the *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar which said that the Prophet (SAAS) sent him back on the day of Uḥud, when he was 14 years old, but allowed him to fight on the day of al Khandaq, when he was 15 years old.<sup>5</sup> Al Bayhaqī, Ibn Qayyim, al Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar all explained that at Uḥud, Ibn 'Umar had only just turned fourteen, and that at al Khandaq he was 15 going on 16.<sup>6</sup> This explanation agrees with the opinion of the majority of *Sirah* scholars.

*Ghazwat al Aḥzāb* is considered to be one of a series of military conflicts between the Muslims and the Quraysh. War between the two sides had been openly declared and they needed no further excuses for fighting. There may, however, have been some direct causes which need to be explained.

This *ghazwah* occurred as a result of the Quraysh's failure at Uḥud to secure the trade routes to Syria. The *Mushrikūn* had inflicted heavy losses on the Muslims at Uḥud, but they did not manage to destroy them completely, nor did they invade their territory. The threat to the Quraysh trade routes remained.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/93; al Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 2/400.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/93; *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/44, where he transmits the report of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah; al Fasawī, Yūsuf ibn Sufyān, *al Ma'rifah wa al Tārīkh*, 3/258.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/393.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al Sirah*, 185.

<sup>5</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/89.

<sup>6</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 122B; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/278.

The Muslims' expeditions and campaigns continued until the negative effects of Uhud were reversed in Madīnah and the surrounding desert. The Quraysh now thought of launching a military preparation against the Muslims in order to achieve their aim of destroying them completely. The Quraysh were not strong enough on their own to accomplish this aim, so they sought to make alliances with others in order to wage war on the Muslims. Their opportunity came when the Prophet (ṢAAS) expelled the Jews of Banū al Naḍīr from Madīnah. A number of their angry and aggrieved leaders went to Khaybar from where they began to establish contacts with the Quraysh and the other tribes in order to avenge themselves and return to their land and property in Madīnah. They sent a delegation including Salām ibn Abū al Ḥaḳīq al Naḍarī and Ḥuyay ibn al Akḥṭab al Naḍarī to Makkah to call on the Quraysh to wage war on the Muslims. They promised to fight alongside them and declared that *shirk* was better than Islam. Concerning this, the following *āyah* was revealed:

Hast thou not turned thy vision to those who were given a portion of the book? They believe in sorcery and evil and say to the unbelievers that they are better guided in the (right) way than the believers. (*Al Nisā'* 4:51)

From Makkah the Jews went to Najd where they made an alliance with the great tribe of Ghatafān to wage war on the Muslims. Thus the confederation of tribes was formed as a result of the efforts of the Jews of Banū al Naḍīr. ‡ Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah mentions that the Jewish delegation promised to give half the crops of Khaybar to Ghatafān in order to encourage them to take part in the confederation. §

The place where the army of Quraysh and their allies gathered was in Marr al Zahrān which is 40 kilometers from Makkah. They were joined there by their allies from Banū Salīm, @ Kinānah, the people of Tihāmah and the Aḥābīsh. They then moved in the direction of Madīnah until they reached and halted at Muḡtama' al Asyāl in Rūmah, between al Ḥarf and Zaghābah. Ghatafān and Banū Asad halted at Dhanb Nuqmā near Uḥud. — ° Al Suyūṭī named the Najdī tribes who took part in this alliance. Most of them were branches of Ghatafān. They were: Ghatafān, Banū Salīm, Banū Asad, Fazārah, Ashja', and Banū Murrah.

As soon as news of the gathering of the confederates to attack them reached the Muslims, the Prophet (ṢAAS) began consultations on what should be done

‡Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 3/214, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to 'Urwah, but it is one of his *mursal aḥādīth*.

§Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7393.

@Ibid., from the report of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah without *isnād*.

— °Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/219-220, from the report of Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*. He mentioned Banū Asad in a report from Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah (*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/393).

to deal with this problem. This was his method of teaching his companions to love Islam. He set an example for leaders to follow after him, obtaining the best opinions from his companions in matters where no revelation had been revealed (such as the matter of war and other major matters)<sup>11</sup> and training them to think about the problems which the society and state would face. In this way, distinguished leaders and experienced politicians would be produced who would feel their responsibility toward affairs in general and take part in them.

Salmān al Fārisī suggested digging a ditch<sup>12</sup> in the northern area of Madīnah in order to connect Ḥarrah Wāqim and Ḥarrah al Wabarah. This was the only area which was open to attack. The other areas were like a fortress, in which the buildings and palm trees were interconnected, and were surrounded by *ḥarrah*s where it was too difficult for camels and foot soldiers to walk.<sup>13</sup>

No one objected to this plan for the defense of Madīnah, because the number of assembled confederates was huge and the lessons of Uḥud were still fresh in their minds. The ditch formed a barrier which would prevent direct combat between the invaders and the Muslims and any invasion of Madīnah. It also provided the Muslims with an excellent defensive location from which to inflict heavy losses on invaders by firing arrows at them from behind the ditch.

The Muslims began to dig the ditch, which stretched from Ajam al Shaykhayn near Banū Ḥārithah, in the east, to al Madhād in the West.<sup>14</sup> It was 5000 cubits long, nine cubits wide, and its depth varied between seven and ten cubits. Each group of ten Muslims dug 40 cubits.<sup>15</sup> The *Muhājirūn* were responsible for digging from the fortress of Rātij in the east to the fortress of Dhubāb, and the *Anṣār* were responsible for digging from Dhubāb to the mountain on 'Abid in the west.<sup>16</sup>

The digging was finished quickly in spite of the cold weather and the famine which had struck Madīnah at that time.<sup>17</sup> The army's food consisted of a little barley mixed with rancid fat. Its smell had changed because it was old. They ate it despite its unpleasant taste and offensive smell, because they were

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Taymīyah, Majd al Dīn 'Abd al Salām ibn 'Abd 'Allāh, *al Siyāsah al Shar'īyah*, 134.

<sup>12</sup>The earliest scholar who referred to this was Abū Ma'shar al Sindī (d. 171 AH) without *isnād* (*Faḥḥ al Bārī*, 7/393). Al Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 2/445, without *isnād*; Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/224.

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/66-7.

<sup>14</sup>No report concerning this has been proven *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view, but some weak reports (*athār*) have been transmitted, which could be considered in these subjects.

Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/130; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 21/33; Ibn Hajar, *Faḥḥ al Bārī*, 7/397.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *Al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/66-7; al Safārīnī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al Nābulī al Ḥanbalī, *Sharḥ Thulāthiyāt Musnad Aḥmad*, 1/199-200.

<sup>17</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/45. Ibn Hajar, *Faḥḥ al Bārī*, 7/395.

hungry.<sup>18</sup> On some occasions they could not find anything to eat except dates,<sup>19</sup> and they even went without any food for three days.<sup>20</sup> The warmth of faith (*imān*), however, eliminated the effects of severe cold and hunger, and the Muslims worked hard carrying the soil on their shoulders. Among them were those leaders and merchants who were not used to doing anything for themselves, but they all worked together as equals in digging and carrying away the soil. They were so enthusiastic that they sang as they worked. The Prophet (ṢAAS) worked with them, digging and carrying soil away until he became covered with dust. He tied a stone to his stomach because of his extreme hunger.<sup>21</sup> The *Ṣaḥābah* asked him for help whenever they came across a large stone; he would take a pickax and shatter the rock.<sup>22</sup> He joined in with their songs and poems, saying:

"O God! Without You we would not have been guided, nor would we have given in charity, nor would we have performed *Ṣalāh*. So, (O God), please send tranquility upon us and make our feet firm if we meet the enemy, as they have wronged us. And if they intend affliction then we would stand firm." The Prophet would then prolong his voice at the last words.<sup>23</sup>

While the Muslims were digging and carrying away the soil, they sang: "We are those who have given the pledge of allegiance to Muḥammad (ṢAAS) for Islam as long as we live." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said in reply to their words: "O Lord! There is no goodness except the goodness of the hereafter. Do then bestow Your blessing on the *Anṣār* and the *Muhājirūn*." Sometimes the Prophet (ṢAAS) would initiate the exchange and the *Ṣaḥābah* would respond with their verse.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS) actively participated with them in the work and did not merely support them with words had a great effect on the spirit which dominated their activities, and the Muslims were able to complete the ditch in only six days.<sup>25</sup> This meant that the plans required for the defense of Madīnah were completed before the confederates arrived.

A number of miracles happened to the Prophet (ṢAAS) during the digging of the ditch. Among them was the multiplying of food. The Prophet's companions, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, noticed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was suffering

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/392-3 from a *ṣaḥīḥ* text *Matn* of al Bukhārī.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/99. He said that Ibn Ishāq narrated it and that is *munqatī'*.

<sup>20</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/395, from *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*.

<sup>21</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/47; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1430; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/395.

<sup>22</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/395.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/399.

<sup>24</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/47; including "*al Jihād*" instead of "*al Islām*".

<sup>25</sup>Al Samhūdī, 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Wafā' al Wafā'*, 4/1208-9.

from severe hunger so he asked his wife to prepare some food for him. He slaughtered a goat which he had, and his wife ground a measure of barley putting it in a small pot. Jābir invited the Prophet (ṢAAS) to come and eat, telling him quietly how little food there was. The Prophet (ṢAAS) called to the Muslims and invited them to come and eat with Jābir. One thousand Muslims came; Jābir and his family were bewildered. The Prophet, however, blessed the pot and everyone ate until he was satisfied. There was still plenty left in the pot, and Jābir's family ate from it and were able to give some of it to others.<sup>26</sup>

Another of his miracles was his informing 'Ammār ibn Yāsir of an event in the future as the latter was digging. He told him, "You will be killed by the rebellious group." And it did come to pass that he was killed at *Ṣiffin*.<sup>27</sup>

When the *Ṣaḥābah* came across a rock which they could not break, the Prophet (ṢAAS) struck it three times and it crumbled. After the first blow, he said, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys of Syria, and by God I can see its red palace now." Then he struck it a second time and said, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys of Persia, and by God I can see the white palace of al Madā'in." Then he struck it a third time and said, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys of Yaman and by God I can see the gates of Ṣan'a' from where I now stand."<sup>28</sup>

Thus, whilst they were yet besieged behind the ditch, suffering from cold and hunger, he gave them the good news about the countries which they would conquer. As the Qur'ān reports, the believers said:

"This is what God and His Apostle had promised us, and God and His Apostle told us what was true." And it only added to their faith and their zeal in obedience. (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:22)

The *Munāfiqūn* scoffed at this good news and said: "God and His Apostle promised us nothing but delusions!" (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:12)

The *Munāfiqūn's* attitude as described in some weak reports was characterized by cowardly behavior, spreading false rumors, and discouraging the Believers. The Qur'ān, however, described this attitude in very precise terms:

<sup>26</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/46; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1610.

<sup>27</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/2235.

<sup>28</sup>From the report of Aḥmad and Al Nasā'ī. Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar said that their *isnāds* were *ḥasan*, going back to al Barā' ibn 'Azib, one of the eyewitnesses (*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/397). Also narrated by al Ṭabarānī (*al Mu'jam al Kabir*, 11/376). Al Haythamī said, "Its men are *ṣaḥīḥ*, except for 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad and Na'im al 'Anbarī" (*Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/131). 'Abd Allāh ibn al Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is *thiqah*, but I could not find Na'im's biography. See Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/303. His *isnād* includes Maymūn al Baṣrī, who is *ḍa'if*, but al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar deemed this *isnād ḥasan*.

And behold! The hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease (even) say: "God and His Apostle promised us nothing but delusions!"

Behold! A party among them said: "Ye men of Yathrib! Ye cannot stand (the attack)! therefore go back!" And a band of them asked for leave of the Prophet, saying, "Truly our houses are bare and exposed, though they were not exposed: they intended nothing but to run away. And if an entry had been effected to them from the sides of the (city), and they had been incited to sedition, they would certainly have brought it to pass, with none but a brief delay.

And yet they had already covenanted with God not to turn their backs, and a covenant with God must (surely) be answered for.

Say: "Running away will not profit you if ye are running away from death or slaughter; and even if (ye do escape), no more than a brief (respite) will ye be allowed to enjoy!"

Say: "Who is it that can screen you from God if it be His wish to give you punishment or to give you mercy?" Nor will they find for themselves, besides God, any protector or helper.

Verily God knows those among you who keep back (men) and those who say to their brethren, "come along to us," but come not to the fight except for just a little while, covetous over you. Then when fear comes, thou wilt see them looking to thee, their eyes revolving, like (those of) one over whom hovers death: but when the fear is past, they will smite you with sharp tongues, covetous of goods. Such men have no faith, and so God has made their deeds of no effect: and that is easy for God. They think that the confederates have not withdrawn; and if the confederates should come (again), they would wish they were in the deserts (wandering) among the Bedouins, and seeking news about you (from a safe distance); and if they were in your midst, they would fight but little. (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:12-20)

These verses refer to hypocrisy and the effects it could produce, such as anxiety, cowardice, and lack of trust in God. In dire situations, they also point to insolence toward God Almighty, instead of taking refuge in Him at times of trial. Hypocrisy is not limited to affecting beliefs; it is followed by acts that discourage others and spread false rumors. They had asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) for permission to leave the work site and battlefield, giving weak

excuses and claiming that their houses were open to the enemy. In fact, they were hoping to escape from death because of the weakness of their belief and the fear which dominated them. They even encouraged others to leave their posts and return to their houses and did not have any regard for the pledge of faith and commitment to Islam which they had made.

Despite the impediment and rumors of the *Munāfiqūn*, and despite the famine and extreme cold, the Muslims went on to carry out their duties and complete the plan for the defense of Madīnah. When the ditch was complete, the Prophet (ṢAAS) put the women and children in the fortress of Fāri'<sup>29</sup> which belonged to Banū Hārithah,<sup>30</sup> and which was the strongest fortress of the Muslims.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) organized his army, putting them with their backs toward the mountain of Sala' inside Madīnah,<sup>31</sup> and facing the ditch which was between them and the *Mushrikūn* who were camped in Rumāh, between al Jarf, al Ghābah and Naqma.<sup>32</sup>

The *Mushrikūn* had a great numerical advantage. They had 10,000 warriors.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sa'd reported that the Quraysh, the Aḥābīsh and the Arabs who were with them numbered 4,000. They had 300 horses and 1,500 camels and then they were joined by Banū Salim who were 700 at Marr al Zahrān.<sup>34</sup>

Ibn al Jawzī adds that the Fazārah numbered 1,000 men and that the Ashja' and Banū Murrah both numbered 400.<sup>35</sup> This made the total number 6,500; the rest of the 10,000 warriors came from Banū Asad and the rest of Ghaṭafān.

Ibn Ishāq mentioned that the Muslim army numbered 3,000 warriors,<sup>36</sup> and the majority of *Sīrah* scholars agreed with him. Ibn Ḥazm asserted that they were only 900.<sup>37</sup> He based this opinion on the fact that at Uḥud, the Muslims

<sup>29</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1879.

<sup>30</sup>Narrated by al Ṭabarānī (al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/133). He said, "Its men are *thiqah*." It includes al Ṭabarānī's Shaykh, and his Shaykh whose biographies I could not find, and Hurayr al Anṣārī, who is *maqbul*; thus the *isnād* is *ḍa'if*, but it deals with a description of the fortress, so we may judge it leniently. Ibn Ishāq also mentioned it (Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk*, 2/570-1).

<sup>31</sup>Al Safārīnī, Majd al Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb, *Sharḥ al Thulāthiyāt Musnad Ahmad*, 1/199-200. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/220; al Fayruzābādī, *al Maghānim al Mu'ābah*, 134. This does not contradict Ibn Ishāq's saying Zaḡhābah instead of al Ghābah, because al Ghābah is to the north of Zaḡhābah, and is close to it (Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 23/215).

<sup>32</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 21/129-130, from the *mursal* of 'Urwah and others.

<sup>33</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/215, without *isnād*; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 21/129-130, from the *mursal* of 'Urwah and others; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/393, from Ibn Ishāq with his *isnāds*.

<sup>34</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/166.

<sup>35</sup>Ibn al Jawzī, *al Waḍ' bi Akhbār al Muṣṭafā*, 692.

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/220, without *isnad*.

<sup>37</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 187.



were 700. He added further that there was only one year between Uḥud and al Khandaq, and the Muslims could not have increased to 3,000 in such a short time.

This opinion, of which Ibn Ḥazm was so certain, is in fact not *ṣaḥīḥ*. Those who attended the *walimah* at the house of Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh numbered 1,000, as mentioned in a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*. Those who used to mount the patrols to guard Madīnah numbered 500.<sup>38</sup> How then could the whole army number only 900? There were, in fact, two years between Uḥud and al Khandaq, and in that time a number of young boys who had not been present at Uḥud, because of their youth, had reached adulthood; and the Muslims had undertaken a great deal of *da'wah* activity. People usually emigrated to Madīnah after they had entered Islam, so there is nothing strange in the fact that the numerical strength of the Muslim army had increased.

When the Prophet (ṢAAS) saw how great the number of confederates was, he considered reducing the pressure on Madīnah by making a peace treaty with Ghatafān and giving them one-third of the annual crops of Madīnah. But when he consulted with Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, the leader of al Aws, and Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, the leader of al Khazraj, they said, "No, by God! We would not lower ourselves in such a way during the *jāhiliyyah*, so how can we do so when God has brought us Islam?" According to al Ṭabarānī's report, they said, "O Messenger of God, has this been revealed from above in which case we should obey the will of God or is it your own opinion and desire? In this case, we should follow your opinion. But if you merely want us to survive, then you should realize that in the past we and they were equal, and they would not obtain any of our crops unless we sold it to them or served it to any of them who came to us as a guest." So the Prophet (ṢAAS) stopped negotiating with the Bedouin, whose representative was al Ḥārith al Ghatafānī, the leader of Banū Murrah.<sup>39</sup>

The situation became worse for them when they heard that their Jewish allies from Banū Qurayzah had broken the treaty and betrayed them. Banū Qurayzah's territory was in al 'Awālī in the southeast of Madīnah, in Wādī Mahzūr. Their location enabled them to strike the Muslims from the rear. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām to Banū Qurayzah to reconnoiter. When he returned, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "May my father and mother

<sup>38</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/67.

<sup>39</sup>Al Haythamī, *Kashf al Asṭār*, 1/332, narrated by al Bazzār with a *hasan isnād* from the *Ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayrah. Al Ṭabarānī also mentioned it with a *ḥasan isnād*, which includes Muḥammad ibn 'Amr al Laythī, who is *ṣadūq* but makes mistakes, and the two reports rely on him. Al Ṭabarānī's text mentions the Sa'ds, i.e., they are Sa'd ibn Mu'adh and Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, concerning whom the reports agree. He also mentions Sa'd ibn al Rabī', Sa'd ibn Khaythamah, and Sa'd ibn Mas'ūd. This is an error because Ibn al Rabī' was martyred at Uḥud and Ibn Khaythamah was martyred at Badr. But if the report is *ṣaḥīḥ*, there is no reason to doubt that Ibn Mas'ūd was consulted (*al Iṣābah*, 2/36).

be your ransom. Every Prophet used to have a *ḥawārī* (disciple), and my *ḥawārī* is al Zubayr."<sup>40</sup> Then he sent Sa'd ibn Mu'adh and Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah to Banū Qurayzah, and they found that they had broken the treaty and torn up the document, except for Banū Sa'nah, who came out of the fortress and went to the Muslims in order to keep the treaty. This came about as a result of the efforts of Huyay ibn Akhtab al Naḍarī, who had persuaded Ka'b ibn Asad al Qarazī to break the treaty with the Muslims. He explained to him the strength of the confederates, told him that they were able to destroy the Muslims, and promised that if the confederates left Madīnah, he would enter his fortress with him (and share whatever punishment may befall them). The Qurayzah announced that they were breaking the treaty. The news soon spread among the Muslims, and they were afraid that their women and children might be in some danger from Banū Qurayzah.<sup>41</sup>

The Qur'ān described the trial which befell the Muslims, in the following *āyah*:

Behold! they came on you from above you and from below you, and behold, the eyes became dim and the hearts gaped up to the throats, and ye imagined various (vain) thoughts about God! In that situation were the believers tried: they were shaken as by a tremendous shaking. (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:10-11)

The confederates came from above, Banū Qurayzah came from below, and the *Munāfiqūn* imagined various vain thoughts about God. A tremendous shaking befell the Muslims, and they suffered a great trial, but their deep faith and excellent training made them bear all these dangers with steadfastness.

Patrols were organized to guard Madīnah. Salamah ibn Aslam al Awsī led 200 men, and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah led 300 men. They guarded Madīnah and pronounced the *takbīr* (God is most Great) loudly, so that Banū Qurayzah would know that they were there and were alert, because they feared for the safety of their women and children in the fortress.<sup>42</sup>

The Quraysh were astonished when they saw the ditch. They were at a loss as to how they could breach it. Every time they attempted to do so, the Muslims showered them with arrows. The siege intensified and lasted for 14 days.<sup>43</sup> There was no fighting between them except for exchanges of arrows. Qatādah

<sup>40</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/80, 6/52, from al Bukhārī's text.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/103, from the report of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, without *isnāds*. The proven fact is the treachery of Banū Qurayzah.

<sup>42</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/67, without *isnād*.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 2/73, with *isnād* whose men are *thiqah*, from the *marāsīl* of Sa'd ibn al-Musayyab, whose *marāsīl* are strong. This is the strongest report which was narrated concerning this siege. Ibn Ishāq has suggested twenty-odd nights, without giving an exact number. Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/224.

said that the siege lasted for a month,<sup>44</sup> and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah said that it lasted 20 days.<sup>45</sup>

Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Sa'd narrated some reports without *isnāds* which said that some of the *Mushrikūn* breached the ditch, and they mentioned the names of five of them. They narrated that 'Alī fought 'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd, the strongest horseman of Quraysh, in single combat, and killed him; that al Zubayr killed Nawfal al Makhzūmī; and that the three others fled back to their camp.<sup>46</sup> The attacks of the *Mushrikūn*, however, did not cease, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were even unable on some days to perform the *Aṣr* prayer at the proper time, and had to perform it after sunset.<sup>47</sup> *Ṣalāt al Khawf* (prayer in times of fear) had not yet been legislated. It was legislated afterwards, during the *ghazwah* of Dhāt al Riqā.<sup>48</sup>

Despite the length of the siege, only eight Muslims were martyred.<sup>49</sup> One of them was Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, the leader of al Aws. He had been struck in his medial arm vein. The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a tent for him in the Mosque, so that he could visit him more easily, and he died after the *ghazwah* against Banū Qurayzah, when his wound began to bleed again.<sup>50</sup> He was one of the best *Ṣaḥābah*, who had many outstanding virtues, and had made great sacrifices for the cause of Islam.<sup>51</sup> Four of the *Mushrikūn* were killed. *Ghazwat al Khandaq* was the *ghazwah* in which the least number of people were killed, despite the great numbers of both sides, because the ditch prevented any direct combat taking place.

The length of the siege weakened the spirit of the confederates, especially since they did not all have the same aim. Quraysh wanted to destroy the Muslims in order to reopen their trade routes and avenge their pagan beliefs. The Bedouin wanted a swift victory so that they could seize Madīnah. The Jews were hesitant about joining in the fighting, despite the fact that they had broken the treaty, because they were afraid that the other confederates might abandon the siege and leave them to face the Muslims alone; hence they wanted hostages (from Quraysh) before they would join in the fighting.

<sup>44</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 21/128, with a *ḥasan isnād*, but it is from the *marāsīl* of Qatādah, and was adopted by Ibn al Qayyim (*Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/131).

<sup>45</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/393, without *isnād*.

<sup>46</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah al Nabawiyah*, 2/224; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/68. Al Ṭabarī reported 'Alī's combat with 'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd from the *mursal* of al Zuhri, whose *marāsīl* are weak, and from the *mursal* of 'Ikrimah with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqāt* (*Tārīkh al Umam wa al Mulūk*, 3/48; *Kanz al 'Ummāl*, 10/455). The incident does not need to be proven *ṣaḥīḥ* from a *ḥadīth* point of view, because reports such as this would have become well known, and the battle was witnessed by thousands of warriors.

<sup>47</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 2/68, 72, 123, 434; 5/92.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 7/421-4.

<sup>49</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/253.

<sup>50</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/51.

<sup>51</sup>The Throne (*al 'arsh*) was shaken by his death, and his napkins in Paradise are better than silk (al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Manāqib al Anṣār*, 12; Muslim, *Al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1915, 1916).

Ibn Ishāq, Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah and al Wāqidī give reports which describe the role of Na'im ibn Mas'ūd al Ghatafānī. He was a new Muslim, and the Quraysh, the Jews and the Bedouin were unaware of this. On the orders of the Prophet, he began to sow the seeds of doubt in the minds of the confederates. He encouraged the Jews to demand hostages from the Quraysh, lest they leave them and abandon the siege. Then he told the Quraysh that the Jews were demanding hostages so that they could hand them over to the Muslims as an appeasement for breaking the treaty. These reports have not been proven from the *ḥadīth* point of view, but they are very well known in the books of *Sīrah*,<sup>52</sup> and do not contradict the *sharī* rules of politics, because war involves deceit.<sup>53</sup>

However, the spirit of the confederates was broken because of the length of the siege, and also because of a strong and cold wind. God aided the Muslims with the east wind,<sup>54</sup> which pulled up the confederates' tents, turned over their cooking pots, extinguished their fires, and buried their saddlebags. Abū Sufyān shouted at them to leave, and the only results they achieved from this *ghazwah* were tiredness and expenses, as the Qur'ān explained:

O ye who believe! Remember the grace of God (bestowed) on you, when there came down on you hosts (to overwhelm you): but We sent against them a hurricane and forces that ye saw not: but God sees (clearly) all that ye do. (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:9)

Ḥudhayfah ibn al Yāmān was an eyewitness to the event. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent him to find out about the state of the confederates. He said:

I was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of the battle of Aḥzāb and we were gripped by a violent wind and severe cold. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: "Hark, the man who (goes reconnoitering and) brings me the news of the enemy shall be ranked with me on the Day of Judgment by God (the glorious and exalted)." We all kept quiet and none of us responded to him. He repeated this statement twice, and no one responded to him. Then he said: "Get up, Ḥudhayfah, bring me the news of the enemy." When he called me by name I had no alternative but to get up. He said: "Go and bring me information about the enemy, and do nothing that may provoke them against me." When I left him, I felt warm as if I were walking in a heated bath until I reached them. I saw Abū Sufyān warming his back against a fire. I put an arrow in the middle of the bow, intending to shoot at him, when I recalled

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah al Nabawīyah*, 2/229-230, from the report of Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/48d1-2, 485; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/113.

<sup>53</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *al Jihād*, 157. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al Jihād*, 18.

<sup>54</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/47; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 2/617.

the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): "Do not provoke them against me." Had I shot at him, I would have hit him. But I returned and (felt warm as if) I were walking in a heated bath (*ḥammām*). Presenting myself before him, I gave him information about the enemy. When I had done so, I began to feel cold, so the Messenger of (ṢAAS) wrapped me in a blanket that he had in excess of his own requirement and with which he used to cover himself while performing *ṣalāh*. So I continued to sleep until it was morning and he said: "Get up, O heavy sleeper."<sup>55</sup>

According to the report of al Bazzār, when Ḥudhayfah returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "O Messenger of God! The people have left Abū Sufyān and scattered, and only a small group are left with him, trying to light a fire. God has inflicted upon them the same cold as we are suffering, but we have hope from God, while they have none."<sup>56</sup>

Thus the confederates were routed and scattered from Madīnah, and the Muslims breathed a sigh of relief.

And God turned back the unbelievers for (all) their fury: no advantage did they gain; and enough is God for the believers in their fight. And God is full of strength, able to enforce His will. (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:25)

God answered the supplication which His Prophet had made during the siege: "O Lord, Thou Who hast revealed the book and Who art swift in calling to account, defeat the confederates. Our Lord, defeat them and cause them to tremble."<sup>57</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) expressed the significant effects of the confederates' failure in their attack on Madīnah despite the fact that they had expended as much of their energy as possible by saying: "Now we shall invade them, and they will never invade us again. We will go and fight them in their own territory."<sup>58</sup> This indicates that the Muslims' strategy had changed from defense of Madīnah to attack. Thus can be explained by the fact that the arena of events moved from Madīnah and its environs to Makkah and Ṭā'if, then to Tabūk, far away from the Muslim capital of Madīnah.

### Campaigns Following al Khandaq

#### The Khabṭ expedition or the Sayf al Baḥr expedition

The Muslims made the most of the failure which had befallen the confederates, and renewed their economic stranglehold on the Quraysh. The

<sup>55</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/274-5.

<sup>56</sup>Al Haythamī, *Kashf al Asṭār*, 2/335-6.

<sup>57</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1363.

<sup>58</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/48.

Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al Jarrah with 300 men to lie in wait for a caravan of Quraysh near the coast. They were struck with such hunger that they even ate *khabṭ* (the leaves of a thorny desert tree) hence they were known as *Jaysh al Khabṭ* (the army of the *Khabṭ*). They slaughtered several camels, but then Abū 'Ubaydah forbade them to do so, because they needed the camels for fighting. When a huge whale was washed up by the sea, they ate from it for half a month. They carried some of it back to Madinah, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) ate from it too.<sup>59</sup>

This *sariyah* was probably the last which was sent out to threaten the trade of Makkah. These *sarāyā* were stopped in accordance with the peace treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah, after they had ruined the trade of Makkah, which Abū Sufyān characterized in the words: "The war has dealt us a severe blow."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Al Bukhārī and Muslim (*Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/1588). Ibn al Qayyim explained Ibn Sayyid al Nās' mistake in dating the *sariyah* in Rajab of the eighth year, because there were no *ghazwahs* or *sariyahs* sent out during the sacred months. The peace treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah prevented the Muslims from intercepting the Qurayshī caravans. *Sariyat al Khabṭ* must have taken place before the peace treaty, and may have happened immediately after al Khandaq, as I have put it.

<sup>60</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 1/34. In 8/79, he mentioned another possibility, that they went out not to seize the caravan but to protect it from Juhaynah. I do not accept this possibility, because Juhaynah had embraced Islam early on, and had adhered to the treaty with the Muslims. Before they embraced Islam, they did not intercept Quraysh caravans; rather, they were on good terms with both the Muslims and Quraysh because they had interests with both sides (see Ahmad, *al Musnad*, 1/178; Ibn Hishām, 1/595). Al Ḥafiz explained that it happened some time before the liberation of Makkah (*Fath al Bārī*, 8/97).



## ***Chapter 8***





## The Ḥudaybiyah Campaign

Al Ḥudaybiyah is the name of a well which lies 22 kilometers to the north-west of Makkah. It is known at the present time as al Shumaysī, and is the site of the gardens of al Ḥudaybiyah and the Mosque of al Riḍwān.<sup>1</sup> The fringes of al Ḥudaybiyah overlap the outer limits of the Ḥaram of Makkah, but most of it lies beyond the Ḥaram. The *ghazwah* was named after it because Quraysh prevented the Muslims from entering Makkah when they were in al Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>2</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) went out to al Ḥudaybiyah on a Monday at the beginning of Dhū al Qa'dah, in the sixth year.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this expedition was to perform 'umrah,<sup>4</sup> in order to display the true feeling of the Muslims towards the Ka'bah and their great respect for it, and to counteract the hostile propaganda of the Quraysh which sought to portray the Muslims as if they did not recognize the sanctity of the Ka'bah.

This act on the part of the Muslims clearly demonstrated their strength in the entire Arabian Peninsula, especially after the failure of the confederates' offensive. The Quraysh were aware of the significance of the action when they prevented the Muslims from entering Makkah and performing the 'umrah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had expected that Quraysh might prevent him and even fight him, and for this reason he had wanted to go forth with the greatest possible number of Muslims. He had summoned the nomadic Bedouin to fight with him but they kept him waiting, so he set out with the *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* who were with him. The Qur'ān recorded the weak attitude of the Bedouin in the following verses (*āyāt*):

The desert Arabs who lagged behind will say to thee: "We were engaged in (looking after) our flocks and herds, and our families. Do thou then ask forgiveness for us?" They say with their tongues

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<sup>1</sup>Al Baladī, 'Atīq ibn Ghayth, *Nasab Ḥarb*, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 3/380.

<sup>3</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/Section 212, from the report of Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān with a *ḥasan isnād*, but it is from the *marāsīl* of Nāfi', the freedman of Ibn 'Umar. The following scholars all agreed on its date: al Nawawī, *al Majmū'*, 7/78; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/164; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Talkhīṣ al Ḥabīr*, 4/90. The first scholars, who clearly gave the day as being Monday, were al Wāqidī and his pupil Ibn Sa'd, al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/573; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/95.

<sup>4</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, p. 1778).

what is not in their hearts. Say, "Who then has any power at all (to intervene) on your behalf with God, if His Will is to give you some loss or to give you some profit? But God is well acquainted with all that ye do.

Nay, ye thought that the Apostle and the believers would never return to their families; this seemed pleasing in your hearts, and ye conceived an evil thought, for ye are a people lost (in wickedness). (*Al Faḥ* 48:11-12)

Mujāhid said that the Bedouin referred to in this verse were the two tribes of Juhaynah and Mazīnah who lived in Madīnah.<sup>5</sup> Because they expected the Quraysh to oppose or fight them the Muslims took their weapons with them and were prepared for battle.<sup>6</sup> This contradicts al Wāqidī's statement that they were not carrying weapons.<sup>7</sup>

The number of Muslims at al Ḥudaybiyah was 1,500 men. This was reported by a number of the companions who were eyewitnesses. They were: Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, al Barā' ibn 'Āzib, Ma'qal ibn Yassār, Salamah ibn al Akwa'<sup>8</sup> and al Musayyab ibn Ḥazn.<sup>9</sup> In one report, Jābir said that they were 1,500.<sup>10</sup> The companion 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Awfā said that they were 1,300.<sup>11</sup> Five eyewitnesses agreed that they were 1,300 and this makes their report the most authentic, although the differences between the reports are not great and it is not difficult to reconcile them.

The Muslims performed *ṣalāh* at Dhū al Ḥulayfah and donned the *iḥrām* for *umrah*.<sup>12</sup> They had 70 animals with them for sacrifice.<sup>13</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a spy to Makkah, he was Busr ibn Sufyān al Khuzā'i al Ka'bī.<sup>14</sup>

When the Muslims reached al Rawḥā, 73 kilometers from al Madīnah, the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Qatādah al Anṣārī who was not in a state

<sup>5</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 26/77, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to Mujāhid, and it is *mursal*.

<sup>6</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4179).

<sup>7</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/573.

<sup>8</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4151); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Imārah*, 76; *Kitāb al Jihād wa al Siyar*, 132.

<sup>9</sup>Yahyā ibn Mu'ayn, *al Tārīkh*, 1/321; al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/ Section 2/4. It includes the *'an'annah* of Qatādah, but this does not damage it, because its root is in the *ṣaḥīḥ*.

<sup>10</sup>Al Bukhārī, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 3576, 1453); Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Imārah*, 73.

<sup>11</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Imārah*, 75.

<sup>12</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 1694, 1695). This delineates the definition of the *miqāt* before the *ghazwah*.

<sup>13</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/323, with a *ḥasan isnād*. Ibn Ishāq clearly stated *samā'* in *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/308.

<sup>14</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4179); Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/323, with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqah*, and which includes the *'an'annah* of Ibn Ishāq, who made it clear that he used *ṭahdīth*, as in *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/308.

of *iḥrām* to Ghayqah, on the coast of the Red Sea, with a group of companions because he had heard that there were some *Mushrikūn* there and he feared that they might launch a sudden attack on the Muslims. Abū Qatādah hunted a zebra for them. They were not permitted to hunt because they were in a state of *iḥrām* and they ate it. Then they began to doubt whether it was lawful to do so. When they met the Prophet (ṢAAS) in al Suqyā, 180 kilometers from Madīnah, they therefore asked him about it. He gave his companions permission to eat the meat so long as they had not taken part in hunting it.<sup>15</sup>

The Muslims moved on until they reached 'Asafān, 80 kilometers from Makkah. Busr ibn Sufyān al Ka'bī brought them news of the Quraysh. He told them that the Quraysh had heard that they were coming and had gathered an army to prevent them from entering Makkah. Khālīd ibn al Walīd had gone out with the cavalry, as a vanguard, to Kirā' al Ghamīm, 64 kilometers from Makkah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) consulted with his companions as to whether he should raid the territory of those who supported the Quraysh. He went to join them in order to make them leave the Quraysh and return to defend their own territory. He said, "O people! Give me your opinion. Do you recommend that I should destroy the families and offspring of those who want to stop us from the Ka'bah? If they should come to us (for peace) then God will destroy a spy from the *Mushrikūn*, or otherwise we will leave them in a miserable state." On that Abū Bakr said, "O Messenger of God! You have come with the intention of visiting this house (i.e., the Ka'bah) and you do not want to kill or fight anybody. So proceed to it, and whoever should stop us from it, we will fight him." On that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Proceed, in the name of Allah!"<sup>16</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) consulted with his companions often.

At 'Asafān, the Prophet (ṢAAS) led his companions in performing *ṣalāt al khawf* (the prayer of fear) when he learned how close the *Mushrik* cavalry was.<sup>17</sup> This was the first *ṣalāt al khawf* which the Prophet (ṢAAS)

<sup>15</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 1821, 1822, 1924). Al Bazzār reported, with a *ḥasan isnād*, that the hunting of the wild donkey took place in 'Asafān. This contradicts the *ṣaḥīḥ* and is itself contradicted by the fact that Abu Qatādah was sent to collect the *Ṣadaqah*. Al Kandahlawī's attempt to reconcile them failed, because the contradiction is so strong that it requires one or the other of the reports to be rejected (see *Avjāz al Masālik 'ilā Muwaṭṭā' Mālik*, 6/352).

<sup>16</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (*Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no 4179). He indicated Ghadīr al Ashtāt instead of 'Asafān, but it is close to it. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/334. Apart from the section which mentions Khālīd ibn al Walīd, it is from *Musnad Ahmad*, 4/323, with a *ḥasan isnād*. Ibn Ishāq stated clearly that he heard it (*al samā'*) in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/308. For the locations of Kirā' al Ghamīm, see al Balādī, *Mu'jam al Ma'ālim al Jughrāfiyyah*, p. 246.

<sup>17</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Ma'ālim al Sunan*, *Kitāb al Ṣalāh*, p. 215. Al Ḥākim narrated it, and al Dhahabī deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ* and agreed with him (*al Mustadrak*, 3/338). Al Bayhaqī and Ibn Kathīr deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ* (al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 3/257; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 1/548). Ibn Hajar said concerning it, "The *sanad* is *jayyid*." (*al Isābah*, 7/294). But the *ḥadīth* did not specify the *ghazwah*; Ibn Hajar thought that it was most likely *Ghazwat al Ḥudaybiyah* (*Fath al Bārī*, 7/423). This view is strengthened by the fact that Khālīd ibn al Walīd mentioned that he was near 'Asafān, which was in *Ghazwat al Ḥudaybiyah*.

prayed.<sup>18</sup> The preceding is the opinion of those who placed *Ghazwat Dhāt al Riqāʿ* after Khaybar, and is authentic.<sup>19</sup> It differs from the opinion of Ibn Ishāq, al Wāqidi and those who agreed with them,<sup>20</sup> because Abū Mūsā al Ashʿarī and Abū Hurayrah came to the Prophet (SAAS) after the conquest of Khaybar, not before. They both took part in *Ghazwat Dhāt al Riqāʿ*,<sup>21</sup> which therefore must have taken place after Khaybar. The *Ṣalāt al khawf* must have taken place at ʿAsafān in al Ḥudaybiyah, because it was immediately followed by the peace treaty and because there was no fighting in Makkah and its environs until the liberation of Makkah.

The Prophet (SAAS) took a difficult route across Thaniyah al Murār which is a slope in al Ḥudaybiyah. He said, "He who climbed the hill, the hill of Murār, such sins of his would be obliterated as were obliterated from the Banī Isrāʾīl." The first to climb the hill were the horsemen of Banū Khazraj.<sup>22</sup>

The Prophet (SAAS) changed his army's route to avoid fighting with Khālīd ibn al Walīd and the *Mushrik* cavalry. When Khālīd heard of this, he returned to Makkah. The Quraysh came out and camped in Balḍah<sup>23</sup> at a watering place which they reached before the Muslims. When the Prophet (SAAS) approached al Ḥudaybiyah, his mare camel sat down. The companions said, "The camel won't get up." The Prophet (SAAS) said, "It has not refused, and such is not its nature, but the one who restrained the elephant from Makkah is keeping it back." Then he said, "By Him in Whose hand is my soul, whatever the Quraysh should request of me which involves elevating the sanctity of whatever is inviolable in the sight of God, I shall grant them."<sup>24</sup> Then he changed direction and instead of entering Makkah, went to the farthest point of al Ḥudaybiyah, and camped at a well which had very little water. The Muslims were complaining of thirst, so he took an arrow from his quiver and ordered them to place it in the well: the water did not stop flowing until their thirst had been

<sup>18</sup>Hāfiz Muḥammad al Ḥikmī, *Marwiyāt Ghazwat al Ḥudaybiyah*, pp. 115-133.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4125, 4128; Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Maʿād*, 3/253; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/419-420.

<sup>20</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Strah*, 3/203, 304; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 1/396.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 4129, 4233; Abū Dāūd, *Sunan-Maʿālim al Sunan*, *Kitāb al Ṣalāh*, pp. 1240, 1241; Ahmad, *Mushnad*, 2/345, with a ḥasan isnād.

<sup>22</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Kirāb Ṣifāt al Munāfiqīn wa Ahkāmihim*, (the description of the *Munāfiqūn* and the law concerning them, p. 12).

<sup>23</sup>Balḍah is a valley in Makkah which begins in Wādī al ʿUshar, passes through al Zāhir as it is known today, and ends in Marr al Zahrān, to the north of al Ḥudaybiyah (al Balādi, *Muʿālim al Jughrāfiyyah*, p. 49). The Quraysh's going out to Balḍah was not proven by any ṣaḥīḥ isnād, but it was reported in *Dalāʾil al Nubuwwah* by al Bayhaqī, 2/Section 219-220, from the *mursal* of ʿUrwah with a weak isnād going back to him. Al Wāqidi (*al Maghāzī*, 2/582) and Ibn Saʿd (*al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/95) mentioned that.

<sup>24</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/329, *Ḥadīth* No. 2731). In one report, the Prophet (SAAS) prayed for water and spat into the well (*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* No. 3577). There is no reason why we should not reconcile the two actions by saying that he did both.

quenched.<sup>25</sup> This increasing of the water was one of Prophet's (ṢAAS) miracles during this campaign.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to keep the Quraysh alive in the hope that they might become Muslims and be an asset to the cause of Islam since according to one of his sayings, "People are like metals, and the best of them at the time of *jāhiliyyah* will be the best of them when they enter Islam, if they understand it well." The Quraysh were the most eloquent and intelligent of the Arabs and had the greatest experience and status. The policy of preserving them with a view to their acceptance of Islam would give enormous benefit to the Islamic state and mission, as was proved by later developments. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was distressed by the Quraysh's stubbornness and the fact that they were exhausting themselves to make war against the Muslims. He said:

Alas, Quraysh, war has devoured them! What harm would they have suffered if they had left me and the rest of the Arabs to go our own ways? If they should kill me (that is what they desire) and if God should give me the victory over them, they would enter Islam in flocks. If they do not do that, they will fight while they have the strength, so what are Quraysh thinking of? By God, I will not cease to fight for the mission with which God has entrusted me until He makes it victorious or I perish.<sup>26</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) tried to explain to the Quraysh by sending neutral men or messengers that he did not want to wage war against anyone and that he only wanted to visit and respect the Sacred House. Budayl ibn Warqā' al Khuzā'i came to him and explained that the Quraysh intended to prevent the Muslims from entering Makkah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) clarified his position to Budayl ibn Warqā' and the latter conveyed this to the Quraysh,<sup>27</sup> who replied, "He may have come not wanting war but by God he shall never come in here against our will, nor shall the Arabs ever say that we have allowed it."<sup>28</sup>

In fact, the Muslims stood to gain a political victory, whether they entered Makkah and the Arabs spoke about that, or whether they did not enter it, and the Arabs thereupon revealed the fact that the Quraysh had turned away people who respected the Ka'bah, after claiming that the Muslims did not respect the holy place.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) tried to explain his stance to all the people by sending a succession of messengers to the Quraysh to announce his intention. He sent Kharāsh ibn Umayyah al Khuzā'i, whom the Quraysh would have killed had the

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/323, with a ḥasan isnād. Ibn Ishāq clearly stated *taḥdīth*, in *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/308.

<sup>27</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, ḥadīth nos. 2731, 2732).

<sup>28</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/324; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/308. Its isnād is ḥasan.

Aḥābīsh not prevented it.<sup>29</sup> He wanted to send 'Umar ibn al Khattāb but he changed his mind and chose 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān after 'Umar expressed great hostility toward the Quraysh, and he realized that the Quraysh knew that, and that 'Umar's own people, Banū 'Adī, would not protect him.<sup>30</sup> 'Uthmān went to the Quraysh and Abbān ibn Sa'īd ibn al 'Āṣ protected him until he had delivered the message of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The Quraysh allowed him to make *ṭawāf* but he refused to do so in advance of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The Quraysh detained him and delayed his return and the Muslims then thought that he had been killed.<sup>31</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) called on his companions to make a pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) to him under a thorny tree. They all pledged their allegiance to him, except for al Jadd ibn Qays who was a *Munāfiq*,<sup>32</sup> and the pledge was a pledge unto death.<sup>33</sup> According to other reports, the companions took an oath that they would not flee from the battlefield if there was an encounter with the Makkans, but they did not take an oath to fight unto death.<sup>34</sup> There is, however, no contradiction between these reports, because pledging meant that they would not flee.<sup>35</sup>

The first one who came forward to make the pledge of allegiance was Abū Sinān 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb al Asadī.<sup>36</sup> Then the companions followed one another in taking the pledge. The Prophet (ṢAAS) praised the attitude of his companions and their pledging allegiance. He said, "You are the best people in the world,"<sup>37</sup> and "In *Shā' Allāh*, not one of the companions of the tree (*Aṣḥāb al shajarah*), who made a pledge of allegiance beneath it, will enter hell fire."<sup>38</sup> Because 'Uthmān was being detained by the Quraysh, the Prophet (ṢAAS) held up his right hand and said, "This is the hand of 'Uthmān." Then he struck his other hand with it, and said, "This is for 'Uthmān."<sup>39</sup> Hence 'Uthmān was counted among those who had pledged their allegiance beneath the tree. But 'Uthmān rejoined the Muslims immediately after the pledge which is also known as *Bay'ah al Riḍwān* or the Pledge of Satisfaction.

The Quraysh sent a number of messengers to negotiate with the Muslims. The first of them was 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al Thaqaffī. He noticed how much

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad* 4/324, with a *ḥasan isnād*, as mentioned earlier.

<sup>32</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Imārah*, p. 691, from the *ḥadīth* of Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, who was an eyewitness.

<sup>33</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4169); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Imārah*, 81.

<sup>34</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Kitāb al Imārah*, 76, 67, 68; *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 2957).

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 6/118.

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣḥābah*, 11/171.

<sup>37</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4154).

<sup>38</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb Faḍā'il al Ṣaḥābah*, 163.

<sup>39</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 3698).

the Muslims respected and loved the Prophet (ṢAAS) and how eager they were to obey him. When he returned to the Quraysh he said, "O my people, I have visited kings, I have visited Caesar, Chosroes and The Negus, but by Allah I have never seen a king whose companions hold him in such high esteem as the companions of Muḥammad hold Muḥammad."<sup>40</sup>

The Quraysh then sent al Ḥulays ibn 'Alqamah al Kinānī, the leader of the Aḥābīsh. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) saw him coming, he told his companions to send out the sacrificial camels so that al Ḥulays ibn 'Alqamah could see them and to recite the *talbiyah* in front of him, because he was from a people who respected such things. When al Ḥulays ibn 'Alqamah saw that, he returned to the Quraysh and said, "I saw the camels with their festive collars around their necks, and prepared for sacrifice, so I do not think that they should be prevented from going to the Ka'bah."<sup>41</sup> The Quraysh said, "Sit down! You are only a Bedouin, utterly ignorant."<sup>42</sup>

Then the Quraysh sent Makraz ibn Ḥafṣ and he was followed by Suhayl ibn 'Amr. The Prophet optimistically said, "Your circumstances have become easy for you."<sup>43</sup> There is a play on the words in Arabic: *sahala*, meaning "to become easy," is derived from the same root as the name of Suhayl. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "The people want peace, because they have sent this man." The Quraysh had only insisted that the peace treaty should include the condition that the Muslims should return without performing *umrah* on this occasion. Long negotiations took place between the Prophet (ṢAAS) and Suhayl ibn 'Amr and ended with the conclusion of the peace treaty on al Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>44</sup>

Some differences arose in the writing of the introduction to the treaty. The Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to give it an Islamic flavor, but Suhayl ibn 'Amr objected to that. 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib was writing the treaty down.<sup>45</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Write: *Bismi Allāh al Raḥmān al Raḥīm*." Suhayl said, "By Allāh, I do not know what *al Raḥmān*' is, write: *Bismika Allāhumma*' (In Your name, O Allāh), as you used to do." The Muslims said, "We will not write anything except *Bismi Allāh al Raḥmān al Raḥīm*." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Write: *Bismika Allāhumma*." Then he said, "Write: 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, has agreed.'" Suhayl said, "By God, if we had recognized that you were the Messenger of Allāh, we would not have prevented you from going to the Ka'bah and we would not have fought you. Write: 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh.'" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "By God, I am indeed

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732. See also Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 3/324, with *ḥasan isnād* from the report of Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732.

<sup>42</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/324, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>43</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732).

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/343, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās, and another from the *mursal* of al Zuhri.



the Messenger of Allāh, even if you do not believe me. Write: 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh.'" Then the Prophet said, "On the condition that you allow us to go to the Ka'bah and make *ṭawāf* around it." Suhayl said, "By God, the Arabs shall never say that we have taken them by force. You shall not enter Makkah this year, but you will enter next year." This was written down.

Suhayl said, "On the condition that if any one of our people comes to you even if he is a Muslim you will hand him back to us." The Muslims said, "Glory be to God! How can we hand someone back to the *Mushrikūn* when he has come to us as a Muslim?" While they were discussing this, Abū Jandal ibn Suhayl ibn 'Amr entered, walking in fetters. He had escaped from the lowest part of Makkah and had come to be with the Muslims. Suhayl said, "O Muḥammad, this is the first one I ask you to return to me." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "We have not finished writing the treaty yet." Suhayl said, "Then by God I have never made any peace treaty with you."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Let me keep him." Suhayl said, "I will not let you keep him." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Do it." Suhayl said, "I will not do it." Makraz said, "We will give him to you."<sup>46</sup>

Then the agreement was concluded on the following terms:

...to lay aside war for ten years, during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Muḥammad without the permission of his guardian Muḥammad will return him to them (Quraysh); and if anyone of those with Muḥammad comes to the Quraysh they will not return him to Muḥammad. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith.<sup>47</sup> He who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Muḥammad may do so, and he who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so.<sup>48</sup>

On hearing this, the Khuzā'ah leaped up and said, "We are in a bond and agreement with Muḥammad (ṢAAS)," and Banū Bakr leaped up and said the same with regard to the Quraysh.

You must retire from us this year and not enter Makkah against our will, and next year we will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay there three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their sheaths. You can bring in nothing more.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732). It seems that Suhayl took no notice of what Makraz said, because he took Abū Jandal back to Makkah.

<sup>47</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, *Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Sa'ādah*, *al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, 3/327.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 2/392, 3, 380.

<sup>49</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/325, from Ibn Ishāq with a *hasan isnād* where he clearly states that he heard it (*al-samā'*), in *Ṣīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/308.

Thus the truce was established for ten years, on the condition that the Muslims would not enter Makkah until the following year, and that they could stay there for three days, carrying only sheathed swords. The truce also stipulated that the two sides would not undertake any hostile or propagandistic action, and that they would both be permitted to form alliances with the Arab tribes on equal terms. The Muslims were committed to return any Muslims who escaped to them from the Quraysh, but the Quraysh were not committed to return any Muslims who escaped to them.

The Muslims complained about this agreement and felt uneasy about it, especially after the Islamic style of the document had been changed. 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib refused to erase the words "The Messenger of God," so the Prophet (ṢAAS) took the document from him and asked someone else to write what Suhayl ibn 'Amr wanted.<sup>50</sup> The Muslims were angry about having to hand back to the Quraysh those Muslims who had fled to them, and said, "O Messenger of God, do you agree to this?" He said, "Yes, for whoever goes to them has been removed from us by God, and whoever comes to us, God will give him relief and prepare a way out for him."<sup>51</sup>

'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭāb became very angry. He went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to ask him about the treaty. 'Umar said, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'Are you not truly the Prophet of God?' He replied, 'Yes.' I said, 'Aren't we on the right (path) and our enemy in the wrong?' He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'Then why should we let our religion be degraded?' He said, 'I am indeed the Messenger of God: I will not disobey Him and He is my supporter.' I said, 'Did you not tell us that we would go to the Ka'bah and make *ṭawāf* around it?' He said, 'Yes, but did I say that you would do so this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Then you will surely go to the Ka'bah and make *ṭawāf* around it.'"<sup>52</sup> But 'Umar was not satisfied with that. He went to Abū Bakr and asked him the same questions. Abū Bakr said, "O 'Umar, hold on to what he says, for I testify that he is God's apostle."<sup>53</sup> 'Umar said, "And so do I."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 2699). Ibn Ishāq said, "He did not know how to write well, but he still wrote" (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4251). In another report, "The Messenger of God wiped it out with his hand" (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 2698, from the *ṣaḥīḥ* text of al Bukhārī). In both cases, the Messenger had read the word "*Rasūl Allāh*" (The Messenger of God). That does not mean he knew how to read and write, as Abū Walīd al Bājī and those who followed him mistakenly thought. The fact that He could draw these words or his name because he had often seen it written before the writing of this particular document, does not change the fact that He was illiterate, as the Qur'ān says. It was one of the signs of his Prophethood. The majority of scholars suggest that by "He wrote" was meant "He ordered to be written." This keeps us on the safe side, and prevents any doubts or misinterpretation.

<sup>51</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Kitāb al Jihād*, 93.

<sup>52</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732).

<sup>53</sup> Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/325, with a *ḥasan isnād* in which Ibn Ishāq clearly declares *taḥdīth*, in *Sirah Ibn Hishām*, 3/308. It says that 'Umar first spoke with Abū Bakr, then he said the same things to the Messenger (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 5/346).

<sup>54</sup> Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/325, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

'Umar said, "I have not ceased giving alms and fasting and freeing slaves because of what I did that day out of fear for what I had said, hoping thereby to improve my situation."<sup>55</sup>

'Umar had consulted the Prophet (ṢAAS) in order to find out the wisdom behind his agreeing to these conditions. He had wanted to humiliate the *Mushrikūn*. Everything he did had a reason behind it and he was rewarded for it, because he was trying hard to understand it.<sup>56</sup>

The Muslims had set out without any doubt of entering Makkah, so when they saw the negotiations for peace, they felt depressed "almost to the point of death," especially when Abū Jandal was returned to the Quraysh after he had appealed to them for help, saying, "O Muslims! Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may entice me from my religion?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "O Abū Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escape for you and those of you who are helpless."<sup>57</sup> 'Umar walked alongside Abū Jandal, inciting him against his father, and bringing his sword close up to him, but Abū Jandal did not do anything, and was returned to the Quraysh.<sup>58</sup>

What Sahl ibn Ḥanīf said at the Battle of Ṣiffīn expressed the Muslims' feelings about the conclusion of the peace treaty: "You should consider that your opinion may be wrong. I myself was inclined to follow my own opinion regarding Abū Jandal, and if I had the power of refusing the order of God's Messenger (ṢAAS), then I would have refused it (and fought the infidels)." Undoubtedly 'Umar and the others who had opposed the peace treaty regretted having given an opinion which differed from that of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) decision, which in fact stemmed from a revelation and this meant that there could be no other opinion beside it. For this reason, when the companions realized that it was the command of God, they all obeyed it without exception.

It is not fitting for a believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by God and His Apostle, to have any option about their decision. (*Al Aḥzāb* 33:36)

The Quraysh did not cease provoking the Muslims during the negotiations or even after the conclusion of the peace treaty. Regardless of whether it was done with the approval of their leaders, in order to apply pressure on the Muslims during the negotiations, or whether it was the actions of their immature young men, the Muslims bore it all with great discipline. Eighty men from Makkah wanted to attack the Muslims' camp and take them by surprise. They were captured and the Prophet (ṢAAS) forgave them and released them.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/346-7.

<sup>56</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/325, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (*Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 3181, 4189).

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

Thirty young men of Quraysh came out to attack the Muslim camp during the writing of the treaty. The Muslims captured them and the Prophet (ṢAAS) released them.<sup>60</sup>

Even after the treaty had been concluded and the Muslims were mixing more freely with the *Mushrikūn*, four of the *Mushrikūn* began to slander the Prophet (ṢAAS). Salamah ibn al Akwa' took them to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he forgave them, as he forgave 70 other *Mushrikūn* whom the Muslims had captured after the conclusion of the treaty. Concerning this, the following verse was revealed:

And it is He Who has restrained their hands from you and your hands from them in the midst of Makkah, after that He gave the victory over them. (*Al Fath* 48:24)<sup>61</sup>

The Muslims also felt that the conditions of the peace treaty were unfair to them, and they became so angry that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered them to sacrifice their animals and shave their heads and repeated the order three times, not one of them got up, as if they were hoping that the treaty would be rescinded. When they saw him get up on the suggestion of Umm Salamah and make his sacrifice and shave his head, they got up and made their sacrifices; they began to shave one another's heads, and they even almost killed one another because of their distress.<sup>62</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed three times for those who shaved their heads and once for those who cut their hair.<sup>63</sup> The number of camels sacrificed by the Muslims was 70,<sup>64</sup> and each sacrifice was made on behalf of seven men.<sup>65</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sacrificed a camel which once belonged to Abū Jahl and which the Muslims had seized as booty at Badr, thus enraging the *Mushrikūn*.<sup>66</sup> The sacrifices were made in al Ḥudaybiyah in the area beyond the *Ḥaram*,<sup>67</sup> but Nājiyah ibn Jundub took some of the animals into the area of the *Ḥaram* and sacrificed them there.<sup>68</sup> Thus the Muslims came out of their state of *iḥram* for 'umrah and the legislation came about which permitted the one who had been prevented from performing 'umrah to come out of the state of *iḥram* without having to make up for the 'umrah.

<sup>60</sup> Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/86, with an *isnād* whose men are *ṣaḥīḥ*, as al Haythamī said (*Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/145). Al Ḥākim said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of the two Shaykhs" (*al Mustadrak*, 2/460).

<sup>61</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Jihād*, 132.

<sup>62</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732); Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/326.

<sup>63</sup> Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 2/34, 151, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 4/324, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>65</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Hajj*, 35.

<sup>66</sup> Abū Dāwūd, *Ma'ālim al Sunan*, *Kitāb al Manāsik*, 1749; *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzaymah*, 4/286-7; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 1/467. He said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim, although he did not report it."

<sup>67</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 2071); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Jihād wa al Siyar*, 97.

<sup>68</sup> Al Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ Ma'ānī al Āthār*, 2/242, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

The companions began to prepare themselves to return to Madīnah, after staying in al Ḥudaybiyah for 20 days.<sup>69</sup> Their journey there and back took one and one half months.<sup>70</sup>

During the Ḥudaybiyah campaign, the Prophet (ṢAAS) permitted Ka'b ibn 'Ujrah who was in a state of *iḥrām* for *'umrah* to shave his head due to illness, on the condition that he pay compensation by sacrificing a sheep, fasting for three days, or feeding six needy persons. Concerning this, the following verse was revealed.

And if any of you is ill, or has an ailment in his scalp, (necessitating shaving), (he should) in compensation either fast, or feed the poor, or offer sacrifice. (*Al Baqarah* 2:196)<sup>71</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) also permitted the *Ṣaḥābah* to perform *ṣalāh* inside their tents when it was raining.<sup>72</sup>

There are other examples during this campaign of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) applied the principle of *shūrā* in Islam. For example, he consulted the Muslims as to whether he should attack the territory of the *Mushrikūn* and capture their children. In this, he followed the opinion of Abū Bakr. He also consulted Umm Salamah as to what he should do when the people did not respond to his command to make their sacrifices and shave their heads, and he followed her opinion.

From the Ḥudaybiyah campaign, we can see the maximum time limit for a truce with the *Kuffār*, because the existing basis of the Muslims' relations with them was war, not peace. We can also see that it is permissible to make a peace treaty with the *Kuffār* on the condition that the Muslims hand back anyone who came to them as a Muslim.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) also clarified some points relating to Islamic beliefs and principles. He explained that whoever said, "We have been given rain by such-and-such a star" is a disbeliever in God and a believer in the star.<sup>73</sup> He emphasized that it is recommended that one be optimistic when he said, "Your circumstances have become easy," when Suhayl ibn 'Amr came to him.<sup>74</sup>

It also became apparent that it was permissible to seek blessing from anything which the Prophet (ṢAAS) had used, for example, making *wuḍū'* in the same water that he had used. This is allowed only in the case of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and does not apply to anything used by the righteous people of the *Ummah*.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/616; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/98.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Sayyid al Nās, *'Uyūn al Aḥbār*, 2/123, from the report of Ibn 'A'idh.

<sup>71</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 1816, 1817, 1818, 4190); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Hajj*, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86.

<sup>72</sup>Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, *Iqāmat al Ṣalāh*, 936, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>73</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Kitāb al Adhān*, 846).

<sup>74</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād Ma'ād*, 3/305; see also, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Kitāb al Ṭibb*, 5755, 5756.

<sup>75</sup>Al Shāṭibī, *al I'tisām*, 2/8.

On the way back to Madīnah, the Muslims once slept and missed *Ṣalāt al Fajr*. They were only awakened by the heat of the sun. Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ was responsible for guarding them and he too was overcome by sleep. They performed the *Ṣalāh* after the customary time for it had elapsed. This is the *sun-nah* when one misses the prayer through sleep or forgets it.<sup>76</sup>

On the way back to Madīnah the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the miracle of multiplying food and water. Salamah ibn al Akwa' said:

We went out on a campaign with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We became so tired and hungry that we wanted to slaughter some of our camels. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered us to gather our food together. We spread out a piece of leather and collected all the food on it. I stretched my neck to see how much food there was, and I guessed that the pile of food was the size of a seated goat, and we were 1,400 persons. We ate until we were all satisfied, then we filled our food-containers. The Prophet of God (ṢAAS) said: "Is there any water for *wuḍū*?" A man came with a water skin of his, in which there were only a few drops of water, and emptied it into a bowl. We all used plenty of water to make *wuḍū*, 1,400 of us.<sup>77</sup>

On the way back to Madīnah, *Sūrat al Faṭḥ* was revealed:

"Verily We have granted thee a manifest victory." (*Al Faṭḥ* 48:1)<sup>78</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) expressed his great joy at the revelation of this *Sūrah*: "Tonight a *Sūrah* has been revealed to me and it is dearer to me than that on which the sun rises (i.e., the world)."<sup>79</sup>

Anas ibn Mālik said that "Verily We have granted thee a manifest victory" referring to al Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>80</sup> His companions said, "May it do you good! But what about us?" Then God revealed the following verse:

"That he may admit the men and women who believe, to gardens beneath which rivers flow. . ." (*Al Faṭḥ* 48:5)

<sup>76</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Ma'a Ma'ālim al Sunan, Kitāb al Ṣalāh*, 447; al Nasā'ī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, section 119. Al Haythamī deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ*. It includes 'Abd al Rahmān ibn 'Alqamah from the *tābi'ūn*. Ibn Ḥibbān is the only one who said that he was *thiqah*, but no one deemed him *majrūh*, *Majma'al Zawā'id*, 1319; *Thiqah Ibn Hibban*, 5/206; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib al Tahdhib*, 6/233. Concerning the same sequence of events in Khaybar, see Idem, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 1/449.

<sup>77</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Kitāb al Luqatah*, 79; *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Hajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4152); al Gharyābī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, the *ḥadīth* of the multiplying of the food, from 'Umar (RA); Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/417-8, from Abū 'Amrah al Anṣārī; al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/Section 222-3.

<sup>78</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* no. 4177).

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid. (*Ḥadīth* no. 4172). Qatādah explained that the report describing al Ḥudaybiyah is from Anas, and that "the *Ṣaḥīḥ* said, 'May it do you good! . . .'" is from 'Ikrimah.

The people rushed to the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was sitting on his camel in Kirā al Ghamīm. He recited to them, "Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory." A man said, "O Messenger of Allah, is it a victory?" He said, "Yes, by Him in Whose hand is my soul, it is a victory."<sup>81</sup> The Muslims' sadness turned into abundant joy. They realized that they could not fully understand the reasons for this treaty or its possible outcome, and that obedience to the commands of God would be good for them and for the message (*da'wah*) of Islam.

A series of events confirmed the profound wisdom and splendid results of this peace treaty which God called "a manifest Victory." How could it be otherwise, when the Quraysh had recognized the Muslims' existence for the first time and dealt with them on equal terms, after they had been presenting the worst possible picture of them to the people? This had deep repercussions within Makkah itself and throughout the Arabian Peninsula. The first example came when Khuzā'ah openly made an alliance with the Muslims without fearing the Quraysh. The new attitude had deep historical roots for there was a traditional enmity between Khuzā'ah and Banū Bakr of Kinānah. The attitude of the Quraysh, who favored Banū Bakr, had driven Khuzā'ah to make an alliance with 'Abd al Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim, the grandfather of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This treaty is the one to which 'Amr ibn Sālim referred in his ode "the old alliance between our fathers" in which he sought the Prophet's (ṢAAS) help, just before the liberation of Makkah.<sup>82</sup>

Khuzā'ah were clearly sympathetic toward the Muslims from the beginning of the state in Madīnah, until they openly announced their treaty with them at al Ḥudaybiyah. "Both the Muslims and the *Mushrikūn* of Khuzā'ah used to give confidential advice to the Prophet, telling him of everything that happened in Makkah."<sup>83</sup> The Khuzā'ah, however, concealed their true feelings of sympathy toward the Muslims from the Quraysh before openly admitting their alliance with the Muslims. For this reason, the Khuzā'ah were able to preserve their relationship with the Muslims for so long.

The period of peace which followed the signing of this treaty gave the Muslims the opportunity to concentrate their efforts on dealing with the Jews in Khaybar, which was the last stronghold from which the Jews were able to incite others against the Muslims, during the Battle of the Ditch (*khandaq*) and afterwards.

The Muslims also had the opportunity to spread Islam. Al Zuhri says: "No previous victory in Islam was greater than this. There was nothing but battle

<sup>81</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Ma'ālīm al Sunan, Kitāb al Jihād*, 2736; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/420; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/459. He said, "A lengthy *ḥadīth*, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*, which they did not report." Al Dhahabī agreed with him.

<sup>82</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/394, from the report of Ibn Ishāq; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 2/789; al Ṭabarī, *al Tārīkh*, 4/45; Ibn Zanjawayh, *al Amwāl*, 1/401.

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 743, Cairo ed.; al Ṭabarī, 1428, European ed.

when men met; but when there was an armistice and war was abolished, and men met in safety and consulted together, none talked about Islam intelligently without entering it. In those two years double as many entered Islam as ever before."<sup>84</sup>

Ibn Hishām said, "Al Zuhri's suggestion is supported by the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS) went out to al Ḥudaybiyah with only 1,400 men, but when he went out to liberate Makkah, two years later, he had 10,000 men with him."<sup>85</sup>

The wisdom behind this truce became apparent in other ways. After the Prophet (ṢAAS) reached Madīnah, Abū Baṣīr, who had escaped from the Quraysh, came to him as a Muslim. The Quraysh sent two men to demand his return and the Prophet (ṢAAS) handed him over to them. On the way to Makkah, Abū Baṣīr managed to kill one of them, and the other one fled to Madīnah, with Abū Baṣīr in pursuit. When he reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), he said, "Your obligation is over and God has removed it from you. You duly handed me over to the men, and God has rescued me from them." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Woe is his mother, he would have kindled a war had there been others with him." When he heard that, he knew that he would be handed back to them, so he fled from Madīnah and went as far as Sayf al Baḥr.<sup>86</sup>

The Muslims who were oppressed in Makkah understood, from what the Prophet (ṢAAS) had said, that Abū Baṣīr needed men. They began to escape from Makkah and to flee to Abū Baṣīr in Sayf al Baḥr. He was joined by Abū Jandal ibn Suhayl ibn 'Amr and others until they formed a group. This group intercepted Qurayshī trade caravans, killing their guards and seizing their wealth. The Quraysh sent word to the Prophet (ṢAAS), imploring him by God and by their ties of kinship, to send for the group, saying that whoever went to the Prophet in Madīnah would be safe from them (i.e., the Quraysh would not demand their return). So the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent for the group.<sup>87</sup> They were in the area of al 'Aṣ. They came to him, and they were 60 or 70 men.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 3/322.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, *Ḥadīth* nos. 2731, 2732).

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/227, with an *isnād* including Yūnus ibn Bakīr, who is *ṣadūq* but makes mistakes. The *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan* because it has many *mutābi'āt*. Documentation is through Ibn Ishāq; al Bayhaqī transmitted it *mursal* from al Zuhri. He mentions that the group in al 'Aṣ increased to 300 men, and that Abū Baṣīr received the Prophet's letter on his death bed. Abū Baṣīr died with the letter in his hand, and Abū Jandal buried him in that place. Abū Jandal brought the rest of the men to the Prophet in Madinah (*Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/Section 343-4).

There is a similar *mursal* report from 'Urwah (*Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/Section 245). The *mursal* is *ḍa'if*, and can be strengthened if there are a number of sources. But 'Urwah is the *Shaykh* of al Zuhri, and al Zuhri is the one who narrated the greatest number of reports from 'Urwah. The most likely possibility is that the report has one *nakhraj*, and cannot be strengthened.



Abū Jandal and Abū Baṣīr suffered a great deal for their faith. They showed great steadfastness, sincerity, determination, and active struggle until they humiliated the *Mushrikūn* and made them renounce the conditions which the *Mushrikūn* had imposed on the Muslims at al Ḥudaybiyah. This story is a worthy example of adherence to the faith and of making great efforts to support it. It also embodies the principle that an individual can do that which a society cannot do. Abū Baṣīr and his group inflicted damage on the *Mushrikūn* at a time when the Islamic state was unable to do so because of the terms of the peace treaty. Abū Baṣīr and his companions were beyond the control of the state at least apparently but the actions of Abū Baṣīr and the oppressed Muslims in Makkah were not done on their own initiative without the approval of the Prophet (ṢAAS). From the beginning, the Prophet (ṢAAS) could have ordered Abū Baṣīr to stop attacking the *Mushrik* caravans or even to return to Makkah, but he did not do so, and this was a sign of his approval. The attitude of Abū Baṣīr and his companions was very wise; they refused to keep quiet about the oppression in Makkah which sought to turn them away from their religion and prevent them from going to Madīnah. They chose an attitude that would bring about their release and support their state by actions which weakened the economy of Makkah and shook their feelings of security during the time of the peace treaty. We could even say that the Prophet (ṢAAS) indirectly encouraged them to adopt this stance when he said that Abū Baṣīr, "... would have kindled a war had there been others with him."

For these reasons, as well as because it was a well-planned action, and because there was cooperation between the leaders and the soldiers, no harm came to the Muslims within or outside Madīnah; indeed all the Muslims benefited from its results.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) only returned the Muslim men, who fled to him from Quraysh, in accordance with the treaty. He did not hand back any women who emigrated to Madīnah. Umm Kulthūm bint 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ayt came to him as a *Muhājirah*. Her family demanded her return, but he would not hand her back when the following *āyah* was revealed:

"...when there come to you believing women refugees, examine (and test) them: God knows best as to their faith: if ye ascertain that they are believers, then send them not back to the unbelievers. They are not lawful (wives) for the unbelievers, nor are the (unbelievers) lawful (husbands) for them..." (*Al Mumtaḥanah* 60:10) <sup>89</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to test the women. If they had left Makkah for the sake of Islam, he allowed them to stay and paid their husbands the amount

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<sup>89</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 2711, 2712).

which they had spent on their dowries. Before the peace treaty, he had not paid the amount of the dowries.<sup>90</sup>

The reason why the believing women were not handed back was either because they were not originally included in the terms of the treaty, which mentioned only men, as in al Bukhārī's text "No man of us may come and join you"<sup>91</sup> or because the Qur'ān abrogated any terms dealing with women in the verse: "when there come to you believing women refugees, examine (and test) them..." (*al Mumtaḥanah* 60:10).<sup>92</sup> This is the verse which forbade Muslim women from marrying *Mushrik* men, although they had been permitted to do so at the beginning of Islam. Likewise, Muslim men were commanded to terminate their marriages to *Mushrik* women: "...But hold not to the guardianship of unbelieving women..." (*al Mumtaḥanah* 60:10).<sup>93</sup>

It appears that Khālīd ibn al Walīd and 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ, who were two of the prominent men of Makkah, embraced Islam and emigrated to Madīnah after the Quraysh had renounced the condition that the new Muslims who had gone from Makkah to Madīnah should be returned, because there is no indication in the sources that the Quraysh asked for their extradition.

The armistice lasted between 17 and 18 months. It was then broken by the Quraysh when they aided their allies, Banū Bakr, in an attack against Khuzā'ah, the allies of the Muslims, at the watering place of al Watīr, near Makkah.<sup>94</sup>

The Khuzā'ah asked the Muslims for help. In this way, the peace treaty was nullified. A direct consequence of this nullification was the liberation of Makkah.

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<sup>90</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/326, from the *mursal* of 'Urwah; al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/229, from the *mursal* of al Zuhri and 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>91</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 2711, 2712), but in 6/240, it was through al Layth from 'Aqīl with the word "*aḥad*" (anyone) instead of "*rajul*" (any man). If it were possible to decide which is the more likely by comparing different reports and noticing that the word is the same despite different *makhārij*, then we could decide without hesitation that the women are not included.

<sup>92</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 2711, 2712.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid; al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/228; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 4/351.

<sup>94</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/278, with a *ḥasan isnād*; al Haythamī, *Mawārid al Zam'ān ilā Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān*, 414; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/162; al Haythamī, *Kashf al Asṭār 'an Zawā'id al Bazzār*, 2/342. Concerning al Bazzār's *isnād*, Ibn Ḥajar said, "This is a *ḥasan mawṣūl isnād* (*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 7/520).



## ***Chapter 9***



## The Prophet's Letters to Kings and Rulers

The peace treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah gave the Muslims the opportunity to extend their *da'wah* activities in the Arabian Peninsula and beyond. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Diḥyah ibn Khalīfah al Kalbī to Caesar, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius; 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥudhāfah al Sahamī to Chosroes, the Persian emperor; 'Amr ibn Umayyah al Ḍamarī to the Negus of Abyssinia; Ḥaṭīb ibn Abū Balta'ah al Lukhamī to al Muqawqis, the ruler of Egypt; and Salīṭ ibn 'Amr al 'Āmirī to Hawdhah ibn 'Alī al Ḥanaḥī in al Yamāmah.<sup>1</sup>

Al Wāqidī and al Ṭabarī give the date of the sending out of these messengers as being in Dhū al Ḥijjah of the sixth year AH.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'd gives it as being in Muḥarram of the sixth year,<sup>3</sup> as does Ibn Qayyim.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa'd mentioned that the letter to Chosroes was sent before the night on which Chosroes was killed, which was Tuesday the tenth of Jumādā al Ūlā of the seventh year.<sup>5</sup> Al Bukhārī mentions the letter to Chosroes in the events following *Ghazwat Tabūk*, in the ninth year of the *Hijrah*.<sup>6</sup> It is obvious that al Bukhārī did not

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<sup>1</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2/288 (Egyptian edition); Ibn Hishām, *Ṣīrah*, 4/279. He also mentioned the sending of 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ to Jayfar and 'Iyādh, the sons of al Jalandī. Ibn Hishām's *isnād* is *munqaṭī*; between him and the one who narrated it there is a *majhūl* narrator. The narrator is Abū Bakr al Hudhalī, he is an *akhbārī* and is *matrūk* in *Ḥadīth* (*Taqrīb*, 2/401).

Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/258 (Beirut edition), from the report of al Wāqidī, with his *isnād* going back to four of the *Ṣaḥābah*. Al Wāqidī is *matrūk* in the opinion of the *Muḥaddithūn*. Most of the reports which Ibn Sa'd mentions are through this chain; he reconciled the reports, joined together and mixed up the words of the four *Ṣaḥābah*, and presented the combination as one text.

Ibn Sa'd cited some reports of the sending of the rest of the messengers and letters through Hishām al Kalbī, who is *ḍa'īf*, and 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al Madā'ini, who is *ṣadūq* (*Sīyar I'lām al Nubalā'*, 10/400). However, what Ibn Sa'd mentioned from these two authorities is not free from faults such as being *mursal*, and other faults as well.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, 15.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 1/30, Ibn Ḥajar mentioned that this was the suggestion of al Wāqidī (*Fath al Barrī*, 1/38). Ibn Ḥajar claimed that in *al Tārīkh*, Khalīfah had dated the sending of the messengers at the fifth year, which was mistaken. But in *al Tārīkh*, p. 79, Khalīfah says that it was in the sixth year. Maybe al Ḥāfiz read a different copy, or else became confused while transmitting from it.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 8/127. The date mentioned defines the date when Chosroes was killed by his son, Shirawayh (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/260).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

take the time factor into consideration when he arranged the contents of his *ṣaḥīḥ*. He probably wanted to indicate that this letter was sent after Tabūk, as al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar suggested. But this is merely guesswork and cannot be taken as a definite fact.<sup>7</sup> My suggestion is supported by the fact that Ibn Hishām mentions the sending out of messengers to the kings after the Farewell Pilgrimage in the tenth year AH, although the text itself makes it clear that it took place after the *ʿumrah* of al Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>8</sup> The chronological order of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām is stronger than that in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al Bukhārī. Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar himself pointed out the possibility that some of the narrators in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* may have altered the chronological order of some of their reports, for example, placing the *Hajj* of Abū Bakr in the ninth year before the reports of the delegations, or placing the Farewell Pilgrimage before the campaign of Tabūk.<sup>9</sup> He also points out the fact that al Bukhārī gathers together the reports of the missions, expeditions and delegations which meet his conditions, ignoring the fact that they took place at different times.<sup>10</sup>

The difference between the two dates is clearly very small. Ibn Ḥajar reconciled them by pointing out that Dihyah was sent to Heraclius at the end of the sixth year, after the Prophet had returned from al Ḥudaybiyah, and that he reached Heraclius in Muḥarram in the seventh year.<sup>11</sup> A *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* indicates that the Prophet's (ṢAAS) letter reached Heraclius during the period of the Ḥudaybiyah treaty, which Ibn Ḥajar thinks was in the sixth year.<sup>12</sup>

Anas ibn Mālik said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote to every tyrant, calling him to God." He named Chosroes, Caesar and the Negus, and said that it was not the Negus who embraced Islam.<sup>13</sup>

Undoubtedly the sending of letters to kings beyond the Arabian Peninsula was a practical expression of the universality of the message of Islam. This is the universality which was made clear by some Qur'ānic verses which were revealed during the Makkān period, for example:

"We sent thee not but a mercy for all creatures." (Al Anbiyā' 21:107)

This Qur'ānic verse clearly proves the incorrectness of the theory which says that the Prophet's (ṢAAS) *da'wah* activities gradually increased from local to international scale following the widening of his political influence. The universal character of Islam was established while the Muslims were still in Makkah, oppressed and fearing that "men might despoil and kidnap them." (cf. al Anfāl 8:26)

In his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al Bukhārī quotes the text (of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) letter) that he sent with Dihyah to the governor of Buṣrā (in Syria), who gave it to Heraclius. This text, of all the letters which were sent to the kings and

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 8/97.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 1/38.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 1/32, 39.

<sup>13</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1397.

princes, has been authenticated according to the conditions of the *Muḥaddithūn*. Such being the case other letters should be critically examined in both *isnād* and texts before they can be taken as historical evidence, and even more so before they can be used as evidence in the field of legislation. The text is as follows:

In the name of God, most gracious most merciful. From Muḥammad the servant and Messenger of God, to Heraclius, the ruler of Rome: Peace be upon whoever follows true guidance. I call you to Islam. Become Muslim and safe, and God will reward you twice. If you refuse, then you will bear the sins of your people. "O people of the book! Come to common terms as between us and you: that we worship none but God; that we associate no partners with Him; that we erect not, from among ourselves lords and patrons other than God." If then they turn back, say ye: "Bear witness that we (at least) are Muslims (bowing to God's will)."<sup>14</sup> (*Āl 'Imrān* 3:64)

Later scholars were confused by the fact that this verse which was said to have been revealed concerning the delegation from Najrān which came to Madīnah in nine AH,<sup>15</sup> was mentioned in the text of the letter which was sent at the end of the sixth year.<sup>16</sup> Some scholars tried to reconcile the reports and resolve the confusion. They made various suggestions, for example: that the verse may have been revealed twice (they later rejected this idea);<sup>17</sup> that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote the verse, then when it was revealed, the wording was the same;<sup>18</sup> that it had been revealed earlier, at the beginning of the *Hijrah*; or that it had been revealed concerning the Jews.<sup>19</sup>

Undoubtedly, in order to resolve the confusion, we need to know the reason for the verse's revelation (*sabab al nuzūl*). There is no *ṣaḥīḥ musnad* report which proves that it was revealed concerning the delegation of Najrān. Ibn Ishāq suggested as much in a *mursal* report from Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn al Zubayr, who is *thiqah*. Al Ṭabarī's *isnād*, going back to Ibn Ishāq, includes Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al Rāzī, who is *ḍa'if*. Al Siddī also suggested the verse was not revealed during the delegation of Najrān and al Ṭabarī's *isnād* going back to al Siddī includes Asbāt, who is *ṣadūq* but makes many mistakes and exaggerates. 'Alī ibn Zayd ibn Jad'an also suggested the same in a *mursal* report, but he is weak. These three reports are *mursal*, and all have some weakness in their *isnāds*.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 1/32, 8/126.

<sup>15</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād* (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 2/207, 215).

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 1/39; al Qaṣṭalānī, *al Mawāhib al Ladunīyah*, 1/223; al Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al Mawāhib*, 3/338.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 1/39; al Qaṣṭalānī, *al Mawāhib*, 1/223.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 1/39; al Ṣabūnī, *Mukhtaṣar Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, 1/287.



Al Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*<sup>20</sup> includes a report which contradicts them. This report has a *ḥasan mursal isnād* going back to Qatādah, a *mursal isnād* containing some weakness going back to Ibn Jurayj, and another *mursal isnād* containing some weakness going back to al Rabī' ibn Khuthaym. These three *mursal* reports also say that the verse "Say, 'O people of the Book . . ." (*Āl 'Imrān* 3:64) was revealed concerning the Jews of Madīnah, calling them to common terms. If that is so, the verse was revealed before the Jews' expulsion, and the last expulsion took place in five AH, after al Khandaq. This supports the suggestion that the verse was revealed before the letter was sent to Heraclius. The fact that al Bukhārī mentioned the text of the letter in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* probably indicates that he favored those reports which said that this verse was revealed earlier, otherwise he would not have mentioned the text of this letter in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The verse was mentioned in the *ṣaḥīḥ* text of a letter which was written in the sixth year, the strongest evidence to say that it was revealed before the delegation from Najrān came to Madīnah. The text of the letter itself should give an indication in favor of only one of the previously mentioned suggestions, and there should be no reason to regard the text of the letter as dubious.

Al Bukhārī referred to the Prophet's (ṢAAS) sending a letter to Chosroes, without mentioning the text of the letter. He explained, however, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent his letter with 'Abd Allāh ibn Hudhāfah al Sahamī, and ordered him to give it to the governor of Baḥrayn, al Mundhir ibn Sāwī al 'Ubadī. Al Mundhir gave it to Chosroes, who tore it to pieces after reading it. The Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed that God would "tear them to pieces and destroy them completely."<sup>21</sup> God did tear the kingdom of Chosroes to pieces. Chosroes was killed by his son, who ascended his throne. The Persian empire was torn apart and ceased to exist. The text of the letter to Chosroes was not substantiated in any *ṣaḥīḥ* report, but al Ṭabarī and others mentioned it with *ḍa'īf isnāds*.

It has been established in *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a letter to the Negus. Al Imām Muslim explained that this was not the Negus

<sup>20</sup>See the *isnād* of these reports in *Tafsīr al Ṭabarī*, 3/302-4. One may notice that his *isnād* going back to Qatādah is *ḥasan*, and his *isnād* going back to al Rabī' ibn Khuthaym includes al Muthannā, whose authenticity is unknown, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Ja'far, who is *ṣaḍūq* but makes errors. The *isnād* going back to 'Abd al Malik ibn 'Abd al 'Azīz ibn Jurayj includes al Qāsim ibn 'Isā al Wāsiṭī, who is *ṣaḍūq* and has changed, and al Husayn ibn Bishr al Ḥimṣī, who had nothing wrong with him. This is the state of the *isnāds* of the reports which say how the *āyah* was revealed concerning the Jews of Madīnah. The *isnād* of the reports saying that this verse was revealed concerning the delegation of Najrān, which goes back to al Siddī, includes Asbāṭ ibn Naṣr who is *ṣaḍūq*, makes many mistakes and has other peculiarities. The *isnād* going back to Ibn Ishāq, includes Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al Rāzī, who is *Ḥafīẓ*, but is *ḍa'īf*. The third report goes back to 'Alī ibn Zayd ibn Jad'ān, who is *ḍa'īf*.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 8/126. From the report of al Bukhārī, but he does not name the governor of Baḥrayn.

who embraced Islam.<sup>22</sup> The text of the letter was not proved, but Ibn Ishāq reported it without *isnād*.<sup>23</sup>

The texts of the two letters sent to al Muqawqis, ruler of Egypt, and of the two letters he sent in reply, have also not been proved in any *ṣaḥīḥ* report. Likewise, the texts of the letters to al Ḥārith ibn Abū Shumr al Ghassānī, the ruler of Damascus; Hawdhah ibn 'Alī al Ḥanafī, the ruler of al Yamāmah; and Jayfar and 'Abd Ibnay al Jalandī, the rulers of 'Umān, were not proven to be *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view. This does not mean that these letters were not sent to these kings and rulers, nor does it mean that these texts should be refuted from the historical point of view. It is still possible that they may be *ṣaḥīḥ* as far as the format and contents of the letters are concerned. They are not, however, of a standard where they may be taken as evidence in legislative matters. So the text of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) letter to Heraclius remains the only text which has been proven *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view, and can be taken as an example against which the other letters may be compared for the purposes of historical criticism.

This judgment applies to most other documents from the *Sīrah* period, if they cannot be proved *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view. The six *ṣaḥīḥ* books did not report these letters, except for the letter to Heraclius, mentioned in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, and the letter to 'Umayr Dhū Marān, in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd.<sup>24</sup> Although many of the letters may be *ṣaḥīḥ* from an historical point of view, they still fall below the level where they may be taken as evidence in the fields of Islamic doctrine and law *'aḳīdah* and *sharī'ah*.<sup>25</sup>

It has been authenticated that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to write to Byzantium, he was told that the ruler of Byzantium would not read his letter unless it bore a seal, so he took a seal of silver and engraved it with the words "Muḥammad the Messenger of God *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*."<sup>26</sup> He thus demonstrated the flexibility of Islamic politics in benefiting from contemporary means and formalities as long as they did not conflict with the laws and general spirit of the *Sharī'ah*.

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrah*, 210. The other sources mentioned two different texts (see Muḥammad Ḥamid Allāh, *Majmū'ah al Wathā'iq al Siyāsīyah*, no. 21; *Maqābil*, p. 45. These reports were not proven by the *muhāddithūn*, because they were not narrated with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*. The same applies to the two letters which the Negus sent to the Prophet (ṢAAS) (Ḥamid Allāh, *Majmū'ah al Wathā'iq*, nos. 23, 24).

<sup>23</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥadīth* no. 1774.

<sup>24</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/38-9.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 10/324.

<sup>26</sup>The French Orientalist Barthelémy found the Prophet's (ṢAAS) letter to al Muqawqis (written on an ancient piece of leather) in the area of Akhmim in Upper Egypt in 1850 CE. He published it in *al Majallah al Asyawīyah* in 1854 CE. It is preserved in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul. It looks dark and thin, and has a crack in the middle, but it is still legible. M. Belin authenticated it, and Noldeke agreed with him.

It may be noted that the letter addressed to Heraclius bore Islamic characteristics. It begins with the *Basmalah* and is quite frank in its invitation to belief in Islam and the Prophethood of Muḥammad (ṢAAS). At the same time, however, it bore the qualities of wisdom, beautiful preaching, and respect for the addressee ("the ruler of Byzantium"), because of his position among his people, encouraged him to embrace Islam by mentioning the reward he would receive and also warned him of the punishment which would befall him if he kept his people from Islam.

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In 1863 CE, the German Dr. Busch announced in a German orientalist magazine, the discovery of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) letter to Mundhir ibn Ṣāwī, but it has not been sufficiently authenticated.

In 1940 CE, the English Orientalist Dunlop announced in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, that he had obtained a piece of leather on which was the Prophet's letter to the Negus, but he doubted its authenticity.

In 1963 CE, Dr. Ṣalāḥ al Dīn al Munajjid announced in the Beirut newspaper *al Ḥayah*, the discovery of the Prophet's letter to Chosroes, and said that it was most likely authentic.

A fifth document from the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was discovered in 1973, it is more than 1,000 years old, but its authenticity has not yet been decided.

The majority of the Orientalists doubt that any of these letters were sent at all. Among them are the English Orientalist William Muir, in *The Life of Muhammad*, and *The Caliphates*; the Italian Orientalist L. Caetani in *Annali del Islam*; and the Jewish Orientalist Margoliouth, in *Muḥammad*. They based their rejection on the notion that Islam was a religion exclusively for the Arabs; the Islamic state was weak and would not be able to threaten the international powers at that time. Ibn Ishāq did not mention the letters because they contain legendary details and some of the letters contained a Qur'ānic *āyah* which was said to have been revealed two years after the date of the letters being sent. These observations are not enough to deny the historical fact that these documents exist. The letters which have been discovered need to be thoroughly studied in a laboratory, in order to determine whether or not they are authentic.

For the information contained in this footnote, see: *Al Dirāsāt al Muta'alliqah bi Rasā'il al Nabī ilā al Mulūk fī 'Aṣrihi*, by Dr. 'Izz al Dīn Ibrāhīm, included in *Buḥūth al Mu'tamar al 'Alamī al Thālith li al Sīrah wa al Sunnah al Nabawiyyah* (Research of the Third International Conference of the Prophetic Sīrah and Sunnah), Qatar, 260 AH.

## ***Chapter 10***



## Disciplining the Bedouin

During the period of the peace treaty, there were still some disturbances caused by the Bedouin, but they were not serious, and they had little effect on the Muslims' freedom to propagate Islam. Following are some of the campaigns which occurred at that time.

### *Ghazwat Dhāt al Qarad*

This campaign occurred three days before the *Ghazwah* of Khaybar, when 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥuṣn al Fazārī took some camels belonging to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Salamah ibn al Akwa' pursued him, after alerting the Muslims. The Prophet (ṢAAS) went out and found that Salamah ibn al Akwa' had retrieved the camels from the raiders and forced them to flee. The Prophet (ṢAAS) went out as far as Dhāt al Qarad and then returned to Madīnah.<sup>1</sup>

### The story of the tribes of 'Ukl and 'Uraynah

After the *Ghazwah* of Dhāt Qarad, some men from the tribes of 'Ukl and 'Uraynah came to Madīnah, declaring their acceptance of Islam. Then they asked for permission to live in the countryside because they could not tolerate the climate of Madīnah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that they should be provided with some milch camels and a shepherd. They set out, and when they reached al Ḥarrah, they apostatized, killed the shepherd, and drove away the camels. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent some people in pursuit of them. The culprits were brought back to him, their eyes were branded with pieces of iron, their hands were cut off and they were left in al Ḥarrah until they died. Later, the Prophet (ṢAAS) prohibited mutilation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/460; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1432. Ibn Ishāq and the other *Sīrah* writers think that this *ghazwah* took place in the sixth year, before al Ḥudaybiyah, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/460.

Al Bayhaqī said, "What we are certain about is that *Ghazwat* Dhāt Qarad occurred after al Ḥudaybiyah and Khaybar, and the *ḥadīth* of Salamah ibn al Akwa' states that clearly. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/420-1. *Ṣalāt al Khawf* took place during this *ghazwah*, but it had been legislated after al Khandaq. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt mentions that the one who raided the camels was 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥasan, and not his son 'Abd al Raḥmān (*Tārīkh Khalīfah*, 77).

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/458.

### *Ghazwat Dhāt al Riqāʿ.*

The *Sīrah* writers differ concerning the date of this *ghazwah*. Al Bukhārī favors the opinion that it was after Khaybar. Ibn Ishāq suggested that it took place after the expulsion of the Banū al Naḍir and before al Khandaq, in four AH. In Ibn Saʿd and Ibn Hibbān's opinion, it took place in Muḥarram of the fifth year. Abū Maʿshar asserted that it took place after the Banū Qurayẓah and al Khandaq campaign. The most likely suggestions are those of al Bukhārī and Abū Maʿshar, because Abū Mūsā al Ashʿarī took part in this campaign and he had returned from Abyssinia immediately after the conquest of Khaybar; Abū Hurayrah also took part, and he had become a Muslim when Khaybar was conquered. This campaign is called *Ghazwat Dhāt al Riqāʿ*, and is also known as *Ghazwat Najd*, and *Ghazwat Banū Muḥārib wa Banū Thaʿalabah min Ghatafān* (the Campaign Against Banū Muḥārib and Banū Thaʿalabah of Ghatafān).

The Muslims approached the gathering of Ghatafān without any fighting breaking out. Some Muslims, however, became afraid, so they performed the *Ṣalāt al Khawf* at a place called Nakhl two days from Madīnah. They then returned to Madīnah. There is some disagreement as to why this *ghazwah* was called "Dhāt al Riqāʿ", but Abū Mūsā al Ashʿarī reported that it was so called because they wrapped rags (*riqāʿ*) around their feet after their shoes became torn. For each group of six men there was one camel, which they took turns in riding.<sup>3</sup>

The earlier historians did not pay a great deal of attention to these events, because they were overshadowed by the reports of messengers being sent to invite the kings and princes to Islam,<sup>4</sup> and additional reports of the conquest of Khaybar, and of the Muslims' going to Makkah for *ʿUmrah al Qaḍāʾ*.

In any case, the fall of Khaybar gave the Muslims the opportunity to take control of the northern regions bordering on Syria. Apparently, the Dhāt al Riqāʿ campaign which was directed against Ghatafān (who were the second strongest group in the area after the Jews of Khaybar) was included in this plan. It was immediately followed by the Mu'tah campaign, in the same direction, but the Muslims' eagerness to visit the Ka'bah and perform the compensatory *ʿumrah* (i.e., for the *ʿumrah* missed at the time of al Ḥudaybiyah) slightly delayed the sending out of the army to Mu'tah.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 7/416-421.

<sup>4</sup>This incident occurred just after the Prophet's (ṢAAS) return from al Ḥudaybiyah. Ibn Saʿd gave the date of their being sent—they were six men—as the first day of Muḥarram in the seventh year (*Ṭabaqāt*, 1/215, European ed). Ibn al Qayyim followed him (*Zād al Maʿād*, 1/30), while al Ṭabarī brought the date forward a little, placing it in *Dhū al Ḥijjah*, six AH (*Tārīkh al Ṭabarī*, 2/288).

## *Chapter 11*





## The Compensatory 'Umrah ('Umrat al Qaḍā')

In Dhū al Qa'dah of the sixth year AH, the Prophet (ṢAAS) set out for Makkah intending to perform 'Umrah, as had been agreed with the Quraysh in the peace treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah:<sup>1</sup> "You may not take any weapon into Makkah with you, except a sword in its sheath, and that none of the people of Makkah need leave it if they wish to stay there."<sup>2</sup> They had agreed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) should stay in Makkah for three days and then leave.<sup>3</sup>

Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah mentioned that the Muslims took their weapons with them, fearing the treachery of the Quraysh, and left them outside the Ḥaram.<sup>4</sup> The number of Muslims who participated in the 'Umrah al Qaḍā' was 2,000 men, besides the women and children, including those who had witnessed al Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>5</sup> When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Makkah, 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawḥah walked before him reciting:

"Get out of his way, you unbelievers, make way, we will fight you about its revelation with strokes that will remove heads from shoulders and make friend unmindful of friend."<sup>6</sup>

The Muslims made *ṭawāf* around the *Ka'bah*. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered them to appear strong and steadfast in their *ṭawāf* because the Quraysh had spread rumors that they were weak because the fever of Yathrib had sapped their strength. They ran the first three circuits.<sup>7</sup> The Quraysh had left Makkah and gone out to Mount Qu'ayqa'an to watch them perform their *ṭawāf*.<sup>8</sup> They were astonished at their strength. Qu'ayqa'an faces two corners of the *Ka'bah*.

When the three days were over, the *Mushrikūn* came to 'Alī and said, "Tell your companion to get out and leave us, because the agreed time is now up." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then left Makkah.<sup>9</sup> The following verse (*āyah*) was revealed concerning 'Umrah al Qaḍā':

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hazm, *Jawāmi' al Sirah*, 219, Reported by Ibn Ishāq, Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, and Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān, with a *ḥasan isnād* from Ibn 'Umar (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/500).

<sup>2</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/499).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/499. Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah does not give an *isnād* to this report.

<sup>5</sup>Al Ḥākim mentions this, without *isnād*, in *al Ikhl* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/502).

<sup>6</sup>Al Tirmidhī. He said, "This is a *ḥasan gharīb ḥadīth*," (*Fath al Bārī*, 7/502).

<sup>7</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī. Ibn Hajar, (*Fath al Bārī*, 7/508-9); see also, Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, no. 3536. (from the Aḥmad Shākir edition), with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī. Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/499.

Truly did God fulfill the vision for His Apostle: ye shall enter the sacred Mosque, if God wills, with minds secure, heads shaved, hair cut short, and without fear. For He knew what ye knew not, and He granted, besides this, a speedy victory." (*Al Fath* 48:27)

Among the laws which became clear during this *Umrah* was the law concerning the person who prepared himself for *Umrah* but was prevented from visiting the Ka'bah. The majority of scholars said that he must offer the sacrifice, and that he does not have to replace the *Umrah*. The question which arose was: Was the *Umrah al Qaḍā'* a replacement for the *Umrah* of al Ḥudaybiyah that was not completed, or was it the beginning of a new *Umrah*?

Another of the laws deals with the question of child care. 'Amārah bint Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib was a small child when the Prophet (ṢAAS) and other Muslims had emigrated from Makkah. 'Alī took her and gave her to Fāṭimah to look after her; Fāṭimah was her cousin on her father's side. Zayd ibn Ḥārithah argued with 'Alī about this, on the basis that he was Ḥamzah's brother (according to the *mu'akkhāh*), and Ja'far was *maḥram* to 'Amārah because a man is not permitted to marry both a woman and her maternal aunt.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/505.

## ***Chapter 12***



## The Mu'tah Campaign

Al Wāqidī is the only scholar who mentions the direct cause of this campaign, which was that Sharaḥbīl ibn 'Amr al Ghassānī executed al Ḥārith ibn 'Umayr al Azdī whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) had sent to the King of Buṣrā with his letter. Since messengers were not to be killed, the Prophet (ṢAAS) became angry and sent the army to Mu'tah.<sup>1</sup> However, al Wāqidī is *ḍa'if* and cannot be relied upon, especially when he is the only one who reports an event.

It is not essential to find a direct reason for the campaigns against the Arab tribes on the borders of Syria, since any such reason would not greatly affect the explanation of the events. The legislation of *jihād* required the continuation of the policy of bringing the Arab tribes under control and extending the territory of the Islamic state, regardless of direct causes. The Muslims had no alternative but to win over the Christian Arab tribes which were subject to Byzantium and to make a preemptive strike against the influence of Byzantium in the area, before the latter could undertake action against the young Islamic state.

After his return from *Umrah al Qaḍā'*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) stayed in Madīnah for the rest of Dhū al Ḥijjah and until Jumādā al Ūlā, when he sent<sup>2</sup> an army consisting of 3,000 warriors to Syria.<sup>3</sup> He appointed Zayd ibn Ḥārithah as *amīr*. If he were to be killed, Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib was to assume command, and if Ja'far were killed, 'Abd Allah ibn Abū Rawāḥah was to take over.<sup>4</sup> The selection of alternates indicates that it was permissible to attach conditions to the appointment of an *amīr*, and to appoint several *amīrs* in succession.<sup>5</sup> This is the first time that such a precaution was taken, but it may be that the Prophet (ṢAAS) expected this operation to be fraught with danger because of the great distance involved and because they had never before carried out maneuvers in an area under the domination of a strong state such as the Byzantine Empire, to which the tribes of Syria and its borders were politically allied.

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/217; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Isābah* 1/589; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/511.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with *isnād* (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/427). Muḥammad Muḥy al Dīn 'Abd al Ḥamīd edition.

<sup>3</sup>From the *mursal* of 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/427). Ibn Ishāq's *isnād* going back to 'Urwah is *ḥasan*.

<sup>4</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/510); Ibn Ishāq, from the *mursal* of 'Urwah (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/427).

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Ḥajār, *Fath al Barī*, 7/513.

When the army reached Ma'ān, the news came that Heraclius had arrived at Ma'āb (al Bilqā') with 100,000 Byzantine soldiers and another 100,000 Christian Arabs from Lukham, Judhām and Qaḍā'ah (Bahra', Balīyy and Balqīn). The Muslims spent two nights in Ma'ān, consulting one another about these developments. Some of them suggested sending a letter to inform the Prophet of the strength of the enemy so that he could send them reinforcements or give them some other orders. Abū Rawāḥah encouraged the army, saying, "Men, what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, namely, martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or resources, but we are confronting them with this religion with which God has honored us. So come on! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom."<sup>6</sup>

These words encouraged the army and the opinion of those who wanted to hesitate lost favor. Zayd ibn Ḥārithah took the army to the area of Mu'tah, a little to the south of al Kark, where he wanted to confront the Byzantine forces. There was a fierce battle during which the three leaders showed great heroism and were eventually martyred. Zayd ibn Ḥārithah was martyred when he died from loss of blood from the spears of the enemy. Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib took the flag, hamstrung his light colored horse, and fought with the flag in his hand. When his right hand was cut off, he held it in his left hand, and when his left hand was cut off, he clasped the flag in his arms until he was martyred. 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah took the flag and hesitated for a moment, then he rushed forward and fought until he too was martyred. Then Thābit ibn Arqam took the flag and shouted to the Muslims to choose a leader. They chose Khālīd ibn al Walīd. Khālīd realized the danger of the situation so he reorganized his army. He swooped over the left and right flanks and brought up a section from the rear (as if they were new troops) in order to confuse the Byzantines. In this way he was able to make a planned withdrawal which cost him only a few of his soldiers, hence the sources name only 13 martyrs.<sup>7</sup>

This successfully planned withdrawal is regarded as a great victory, because Khālīd was able to rescue his army with only slight losses, while at the same time inflicting heavy losses on the Byzantines and leaving them with many dead and injured. Undoubtedly the Muslims' brave fighting, remarkable courage and desire for martyrdom, in addition to the military genius of Khālīd enabled the Muslims to escape from this critical situation.

More than 90 wounds caused by spears and arrows<sup>8</sup> were found in Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib's body, yet this did not prevent him from fighting until the very end. Khālīd ibn al Walīd used and broke nine swords.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād* (*Ṣīrah Ibn Hishām*, 3/430).

<sup>7</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Ṣīrah*, 3/430-447; Ibn Hajar, *Jawāmi' al Ṣīrah*, pp. 20/222. Ibn Ishāq does not give an *isnād* to this event, except for Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib hamstringing his horse and Ibn Rawāḥah's hesitating before going forward. Ibn Ishāq mentions these two events with a *ḥasan isnād* in which the name of the *Ṣaḥābī*, is not known, but this does not affect it.

<sup>8</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 7/510).

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 7/515.

One of the miracles of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was his informing his companions in Madīnah, with tears running down his face, of the martyrdom of the three leaders, before the messenger from the battlefield brought him the news. He then informed them that Khālīd had taken over the flag, and gave them the good news of their victory under Khālīd.<sup>10</sup> The meaning of victory in this *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* is either the successfully planned withdrawal, or the heavy losses which the Muslims inflicted on the Byzantines despite the fact that the Byzantines were numerically superior.

Despite the success of the withdrawal, the people shouted at the army, while throwing dust at them: "You runaways, you fled in the way of God!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said: "They are not runaways but will live to fight another day, if God wills."<sup>11</sup> Undoubtedly the state of public opinion shows the extent and depth of Islamic consciousness at that time.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) explained the status of the martyrs of Mu'tah in the sight of God: "I would not like them to be with us now (or they would not like to be with us now)," because of the great honor they received after their martyrdom. Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib's children were brought to the Prophet (ṢAAS). He played with them, ordered their heads to be shaved and prayed for them. He said to their mother, who was worried because they had become orphans, "Do you fear that they will become poor while I am their guardian in this world and the next?"<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly, the Muslims learned a great deal and gained much experience from this first encounter with the Byzantine forces, knowledge which would benefit them in their future *jihād* movements. They had learned about the enemy's strength, numbers, methods of warfare and battle plans, and about the nature of the terrain.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 7/512.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with *ḥasan isnād* going back to 'Urwah, but it is *mursal* and *da'if*. *Sirah Ibn Hishām*, 3/438.

<sup>12</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, *Ḥadīth* no. 1750 (Shākir ed.) with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnad*.





## *Chapter 13*



## The Dhāt al Salāsīl Campaign

A few days after the army had returned to Madīnah from Mu'tah, the Prophet (ṢAAS) prepared an army under the leadership of 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ to go to Dhāt al Salāsīl. His purpose was to teach the tribe of Qaḍā'ah a lesson, because they had been misled by the events of Mu'tah in which they had participated on the side of the Byzantine forces. They had now mobilized with the intention of advancing on Madīnah. 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ approached their territory with 300 men of the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered him to ask some of the branches of the Qaḍā'ah tribe, such as Baliyy, 'Udharah and Balqīn, for help against the Qaḍā'ah. When 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ heard how numerous the forces of the Qaḍā'ah were, he asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) for reinforcements. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent him a further 200 men, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar, under the leadership of Abū 'Ubaydah 'Āmir ibn al Jarrāḥ.

'Āmir ibn al Sha'bī (d. 103 AH) reported that the Prophet (ṢAAS) appointed Abū 'Ubaydah over the *Muhājirūn* and 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ over the Bedouin and asked them to cooperate with one another. He also mentioned that the army was sent against the tribe of Banū Bakr while 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ launched an assault on the Qaḍā'ah.<sup>1</sup>

The army advanced into the battalions of the Qaḍā'ah, who fled and scattered. This operation restored the Muslims' standing in this area, after it had been shaken by the events of the Mu'tah campaign.<sup>2</sup>

During this campaign, 'Amr ibn al 'Āṣ led the Muslims in prayer after making *tayammum*. He was in a state of *janābah*, but was afraid that he might become ill if he made *ghusl*, because of the cold. The Prophet (ṢAAS) approved of this personal legal judgment *ijtihād* when he heard of it.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that 'Āmir ibn al 'Āṣ was appointed as *amīr* over Abū Bakr and 'Umar indicates that it is permissible to appoint a person over those of greater standing than himself, if he excels in characteristics appropriate to the appointment.

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<sup>1</sup>The report was mentioned by Imām Aḥmad with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to 'Āmir al Shu'bī was one of those who was concerned with the *Maghāzī*, to such an extent that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar admitted it (*Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*, 5/67).

<sup>2</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, transmitting from Ibn Sa'd without *isnād*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/74-5.

<sup>3</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* narrated by Abū Dāwūd, al Dārquṭmī, al Ḥākim and al Bayhaqī, (al Albānī: *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, No. 360-361). Imām Aḥmad also narrated it: *al Musnad*, 4/203, with an *Isnād* including Ibn Lahī'ah.

After the peace treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah, the Muslims' military operations had been directed toward the north. This had put an end to any operations towards the south or southwest, where Makkah remained safe under the provisions of the peace treaty. However, harmony did not last long. The Quraysh did not appreciate the blessings of peace and security. They set out to break the treaty which led to the renewal of Muslim military activity in the direction of Makkah and its environs.

## ***Chapter 14***



## The Liberation of Makkah

The Quraysh made a vital mistake when they helped their allies, the Banū Bakr, by supplying horses, men and weapons against the Khuzā'ah, the allies of the Muslims and inflicted heavy losses on the Khuzā'ah at a watering place called al Watīr, which was in Khuzā'ah's territory. The Khuzā'ah sought aid from the Muslims. 'Amr ibn Sālim al Khuzā'ī went to Madīnah and recited some verses of poetry before the Prophet (ṢAAS), asking him for help. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "You shall be helped, O 'Amr ibn Sālim."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Ishāq mentions that the Banū Bakr forced the Khuzā'ah to enter the *Ḥaram* and fought them there.<sup>2</sup> Al Wāqidī mentions that 20 men of Khuzā'ah were killed.<sup>3</sup> Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah explained that those who helped the Banū Bakr against the Khuzā'ah were the leaders of the Quraysh, including Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, Shaybah ibn 'Uthmān and Suhayl ibn 'Amr, and he added that the aid provided was in the form of weapons and slaves.<sup>4</sup>

The behavior on the part of the Quraysh was clearly a breach of the treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah and was obviously an act of hostility against the allies of the Muslims. The Quraysh realized the danger of the situation. Some reports indicate that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent word to the Quraysh giving them the choice either to pay the blood money for the dead of Khuzā'ah, or to annul the treaty with the Banū Bakr, or to fight. The Quraysh chose to fight. They then regretted their decision and sent Abū Sufyān to Madīnah to ask for a renewal of the peace treaty, but he failed to obtain a promise of renewal.<sup>5</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to prepare themselves for battle, but he did not tell them in which direction he would be going. He was intent on secrecy so that the Quraysh would not be able to prepare themselves for fighting.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/278, from Ibn Ishāq with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihi*, Ibn Ishāq clearly declared *tahdīth*. The report has a weak *shāhid* in al Ṭabarānī, *al Mu'jam al Ṣaghīr*, 2/73, because of the weakness of Yahyā ibn Sulaymān al Khuzā'ī; and another *shāhid* in *Musnad Abū Ya'lā al Mawṣilī*, 4/400. Its *isnād* includes Ḥazām ibn Hishām al Khuzā'ī, a Shaykh whose position is *ṣadūq*, and whose father is *tābi'ī* whose qualifications are unknown. Ibn Ḥibbān considered them both *thiqah* (al Haythamī, *Majma'al Zawā'id*, 6/162).

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah al Nabawiyyah*, 2/389, without *isnād*.

<sup>3</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/784, with a very weak *isnād*.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/281, from a report of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, without *isnād*.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Hajar, *al Matālib al 'Āliyyah*, 4243, from the *mursal* of Muḥammad ibn 'Ibād ibn Ja'far with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to him. Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Barī*, 6/8, from the report of Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'idh al Dimashqī from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Umar. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/283, and al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/786.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/283, from the report of Ibn Ishāq with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.



The Prophet (ṢAAS) called out to war the tribes around Madīnah. They were Aslam, Ghifār, Mazīnah, Juhaynah, Ashja', and Salīm. Some of them came to him in Madīnah and some joined him on the way. The Muslim army numbered some 10,000 warriors.<sup>7</sup> "All of the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* accompanied the Prophet (ṢAAS); not one of them stayed behind."<sup>8</sup> This indicates the supreme ability of the Muslims to mobilize an army at that stage. The army included 1,000 men from Mazīnah and 1,100 (or 700) from Salīm.<sup>9</sup> This great number shows how much the Muslim forces had expanded in the period between the peace treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah and the liberation of Makkah.

Ḥāṭib ibn Abū Balta'ah who had participated in the Battle of Badr sent a letter to the Quraysh informing them that the Muslims were intending to attack them. The letter was carried by an old woman. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent 'Alī, al Zubayr, and al Miqdād after her, and they overtook her in Rawḍah Khākh, twelve miles from Madīnah. They threatened to search her unless she gave them the letter, so she handed it over to them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "What is this, O Ḥāṭib?" Ḥāṭib replied, "Do not be hasty with me, O Messenger of God. I do not belong to the Quraysh, I am merely connected with them. The emigrants who were with you had relatives to protect their families and properties at Makkah. So, to compensate for not having blood relation with them, I intended to do them some favor so that they might protect my relatives (at Makkah), and I did not do this out of disbelief or an inclination to desert my religion." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said (to his Companions), "He (Ḥāṭib) has told you the truth." 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God! Allow me to sever the head of this hypocrite." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "He is one of those who witnessed (fought in) the Battle of Badr, and what do you know, perhaps God looked upon the people of Badr (Badr warriors) and said, 'Do as you want as I have forgiven you.'" Then God revealed the *Sūrah*:

O ye who believe! Take not My enemies and yours as friends (or protectors), offering them (your) love, even though they have rejected the Truth that has come to you, and have (on the contrary) driven out the Prophet and yourselves (from your homes), (simply) because ye believe in God your Lord! If ye have come out to strive in My Way and to seek my good pleasure, (take them not as friends), holding secret converse of love (and friendship) with them: for I know full well all that ye conceal and all that ye reveal. And any of you that does this has strayed from the straight path. (*Al Mumtaḥanah* 60:1)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/397, without *isnād*.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhā'ihi*, (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/399).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/72, 79; 5/99; 9/23; Muslim: *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/170.

With this pronouncement, God thus legislated that Muslims should be frankly hostile towards the *Kuffār*, and prevented them from taking them as close friends and protectors.

In this incident, one of the Prophet's (ṢAAS) miracles was manifested in that he knew about the woman and the letter which Ḥāṭib had sent with her. Certain laws also became apparent: the law dealing with spies and the permissibility of invading the privacy of the spy, and the ruling that although Ḥāṭib had committed a great blunder, he was not counted as a *Kāfir*.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) set out from Madīnah in Ramaḍān of the eighth year AH. The Muslims were fasting until they reached Kudayd which is a spring 86 kilometers from Makkah and 301 kilometers from Madīnah and there they broke their fast.<sup>11</sup>

He appointed Abārahūm Kulthūm ibn Ḥuṣayn al Ghifārī as ruler over Madīnah.<sup>12</sup>

The Muslim army reached Marr al Zahrān without the Quraysh knowing anything of its movements. The army left Madīnah on the tenth of Ramaḍān and entered Makkah on the nineteenth. This is the most well-known report in the books of *Maghāzī*.<sup>13</sup> There are some differences as to whether the liberation took place on the thirteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth of Ramaḍān, but all are agreed that it took place in Ramaḍān of the eighth year.<sup>14</sup>

While the Muslims were on their way to Makkah, some of the *Mushrik* leaders came forward and declared their Islam. At al Abwā, Abū Sufyān ibn al Ḥārith, the Prophet's (ṢAAS) foster brother, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Umayyah ibn al Mughayrah, came forward and embraced Islam. They had been strongly opposed to Islam. Abū Sufyān ibn al Ḥārith had mocked the Muslims and had fought against them in every war for 20 years, until God put Islam into his heart and strengthened his faith so much so that he was one of those who held out with the Prophet (ṢAAS) during the Battle of Ḥunayn when others fled.<sup>15</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Umayyah had also been strongly opposed to Islam. He was the brother of Umm Salamah, the wife of the

<sup>11</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/185; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 4/180, 181; al Nawawī, *al Minhāj Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al Hajjāj*, 3/173; he reckoned the distance in *marāḥil* and miles.

<sup>12</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/399, from a report of Ibn Ishāq with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhā'ihi*. Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Hajar deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ* (*al Ma'ālib al 'Aliyah bi Zawā'id al Masānid al Thamāniyah*, 4/248). Al Ḥakīm deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ* and said that that was according to the conditions of Muslim, although they did not report it; and al Dhahabī agreed with him (*al Mustadrak*, 3/44). But Ibn Ishāq does not follow the conditions of al Bukhārī and Muslim, and Muslim only reported it in *al Mutāba'āt*.

<sup>13</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Muslim*, 3/176.

<sup>14</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/452, 453; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/138.

<sup>15</sup>Al Ḥakīm, *al Mustadrak*, 3/43-5, with a *ḥasan isnād*. Al Ḥakīm said this *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to Muslim, although they did not report it, and al Dhahabī agreed with him. See also, *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/400. al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/50, and see his *Qaṣidah* about his Islam in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/395.

Prophet, by the same father. He came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) between al Saqyā and al 'Araj, on the way from Madīnah to Makkah, and embraced Islam wholeheartedly; he witnessed the liberation of Makkah and was martyred during the siege of al Ṭā'if.<sup>16</sup>

In al Jahfah near the modern day Rābigh, al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) as a *Muhājir*.<sup>17</sup> Al 'Abbās had embraced Islam before the conquest of Khaybar.<sup>18</sup> Some weak reports have been narrated which say that he embraced Islam before Badr,<sup>19</sup> or before the *Hijrah* to Madīnah.<sup>20</sup> These weak reports are refuted by the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had demanded that al 'Abbās ransom himself when he was taken prisoner at Badr. Undoubtedly al 'Abbās performed great services for Islam before he became Muslim: he used to supply news of the Quraysh to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and protect the oppressed Muslims in Makkah.

The Muslims camped in Marr al Zahrān. The Quraysh were unaware of their movements. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Ḥākim ibn Ḥazām and Budayl ibn Warqā' al Khuzā'i went out seeking information about the Muslims and met al 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib. He had wanted to send a messenger to the Quraysh to ask them to come out and make peace with the Prophet (ṢAAS) before he entered Makkah by assault. Abū Sufyān and his companions had been debating among themselves concerning the enemy encamped in Marr al Zahrān. One of them thought that the army was from Khuzā'ah; this is indicative of the Muslim success in concealing the news of their approach on Makkah.

When al 'Abbās told them that it was the Muslim army, they asked him what he thought they should do. He asked Abū Sufyān to come to the Muslim camp with him, under his protection, and he agreed to do so. They came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) who invited him to Islam. Abū Sufyān spoke to him politely, but hesitated about entering Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered al 'Abbās to take him to his tent and to bring him back the following morning. Al 'Abbās did so and Abū Sufyān embraced Islam the following day. Al 'Abbās pointed out the Muslims' strength to him when the army paraded before him. Abū Sufyān saw how strong the Muslims were and realized that the Quraysh would have no power over them. When a squadron of *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*

<sup>16</sup>Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Isti'āb* (in the footnotes of *al Iṣābah*), 2/263.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah al Nabawiyyah*, 2/400, transmitting from al Zuhri, without *isnād*.

<sup>18</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/466; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 21/122. Al Fasāwī, *al Ma'rifa wa al Tarkh*, 1/507, 508, 509. Ibn Kathir said, "This *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of the two Shaykhs (al Bukhārī and Muslim) but none of the writers of the six books reported it, except al Nasā'i." (*al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/217)

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Tabaqāt*, 4/10, where its *isnād* includes Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh al Ḥāshimī, who is *ḍa'if*; and 4/11, where its *isnād* includes al Wāqidī, who is *matrūk*, and Ibn Abū Sabrah, who cannot be used as evidence.

<sup>20</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Tabaqāt*, 4/31. Its *isnād* includes al Wāqidī who is *matrūk*, Ibn Abū Ḥabībah who is *ḍa'if*, and the *isnād* is *munqaṭi'*.

passed by him among whom was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said, "By God, the kingdom of your brother's son has become great today!" Al 'Abbās said, "Woe unto you, O Abū Sufyān! It is because of his Prophethood." Abū Sufyān said, "In that case, may it be blessed. Abū Sufyān went to Makkah, told the Quraysh about the strength of the Muslims and forbade them to offer resistance.<sup>21</sup>

Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah carried the flag of the *Anṣār* when the army paraded. When he passed Abū Sufyān, he said, "Today is a day of war, you cannot seek sanctuary at the Ka'bah." Abū Sufyān complained to the Prophet (ṢAAS) about what Sa'd had said. The Prophet said, "Sa'd is mistaken, but today God will give superiority to the Ka'bah, and today the Ka'bah will be covered with a (cloth) covering."<sup>22</sup> He took the flag from Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah and gave it to his son Qays, then Sa'd asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) to take the flag from his son because he was afraid that he too might make a mistake. The Prophet (ṢAAS) took the flag from him.<sup>23</sup>

In Marr al Zahrān, the Prophet (ṢAAS) decided to march against Makkah. He appointed leaders and divided the army into right and left flanks and a central core. Khālīd ibn al Walīd was in command of the right flank, al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām was in command of the left flank, and Abū 'Ubaydah was in command of the infantry. The Prophet's (ṢAAS) flag was black and his standard was white.<sup>24</sup>

Al Wāqidī wrote in detail about the distribution and carrying of the flags. He mentioned the number of warriors as follows: 700 from the *Muhājirūn*, 4,000 from the *Anṣār*, 400 from Salīm, 800 from Juhaynah, 500 from Banū Ka'b ibn 'Amr; the total number was 7,400 warriors. These warriors had 980 horses.<sup>25</sup> The numbers given by al Wāqidī differ from those given by the *ṣaḥīḥ* reports. Al Wāqidī's reporting is considered *matrūk* (rejected) and cannot be relied upon, especially when others disagree with him.

The Quraysh had mustered troops from the various tribes and their followers in order to wage war against the Muslims. By doing this, they were trying to protect themselves. If they gained a victory, they would help these tribes, otherwise they would make peace with the Muslims. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the Muslims to fight them. His armies entered Makkah and went as far as al Ṣafā. Anyone who put up a fight was killed. The Prophet (ṢAAS)

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Hajar, *al Maʿālib al 'Alīyyah*, 4/244, from the report of Ishaq ibn Rāhawayh. Ibn Hajar said, "This is a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*."

Al Ṭahāwī (*Sharḥ Maʿānī al Aḥbār*, 3/322) said, "This is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to al Bukhārī (5/186) but with more details.

<sup>22</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/186. '*Kadhāba*' (has lied) is used in the sense of '*ahkṭā'a*' (is mistaken).

<sup>23</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Mukhtaṣar Zawā'id al Bazzār*, 248. He said, it is *ṣaḥīḥ*.

<sup>24</sup>Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 2/941, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihī*.

<sup>25</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzi*, 2/799, 801.

entered Makkah from the upper part of the city from the direction of Kidā,<sup>26</sup> and Khālīd ibn al Walīd entered from the lower part.<sup>27</sup> The Qurayshis' resistance did not last long. Ibn Ishāq mentions that when Khālīd ibn al Walīd fought a battle with some of the *Mushrikūn* in al Khandamah, only three Muslim horsemen were killed, while 12 of the *Mushrikūn* were killed.<sup>28</sup> Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah mentions that nearly 24 *Mushrikūn* were killed,<sup>29</sup> and al Wāqīdī gives the number as 28.<sup>30</sup> There is also a weak report, narrated by al Ṭabarānī, which says that the number of *Mushrikūn* killed was seventy.<sup>31</sup>

The strongest of these reports are those of Ibn Ishāq and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, who are the most reliable writers on the campaigns. The *Maghāzī* of Ibn 'Uqbah is, on the whole, more reliable than the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq. Abū Sufyān referred to the great number of Quraysh dead, and this evidence may make the report of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah more likely. Abū Sufyān said to the Prophet (ṢAAS): "O Messenger of God, the blood of Quraysh has become very cheap. There will be no Quraysh from this day on." This indicates that many of the Quraysh had been killed. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be safe." The people came to the house of Abū Sufyān; others locked their doors behind them.

The *Anṣār* feared that the assurance of protection which the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave to the Quraysh was an indication of his compassion toward his own people and of his desire to stay in Makkah. But he put their minds at rest by saying, "I will live with you and will die with you."<sup>32</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) had ordered his army to fight only those who fought them, and he announced the assurance of protection for all people except four men and two women, who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Ka'bah. They were: 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl, 'Abd Allāh ibn Khaṭal, Miqyās ibn Ṣubābah, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abū Sarḥ. 'Abd Allāh ibn Khaṭal<sup>33</sup> was killed while he was clinging to the curtains of the Ka'bah. Miqyas ibn Ṣubābah was killed in the marketplace of Makkah. 'Ikrimah ibn

<sup>26</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/189.

<sup>27</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 8/10.

<sup>28</sup>*Al Sīrah al Nabawiyyah*, 2/407, from the report of Ibn Ishāq, *mursal*, from two of his *thi-qar* Shaykhs. Al Ḥakīm, *al Mustadrak*, 3/241. Al Bukhārī mentioned only two of the Muslim martyrs.

<sup>29</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/120, with an *isnād* including someone whose biography I could not find. It is from the *marāsīl* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah.

<sup>30</sup>Al Wāqīdī, *al Maghāzī*, 2/827-9, without *isnād*.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/297. Its *isnād* includes Shu'ayb ibn Ṣafwān al Thaqaṭī, who is *maqbul*, so the report is *ḍa'īf*.

<sup>32</sup>Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/95; 6/296-7.

<sup>33</sup>Ibn Khaṭal had embraced Islam, then he killed one of the Muslims and apostatized. The fact that he was killed while clinging to the curtains of the Ka'bah indicates that the Ka'bah does not afford protection to a sinner who deserves the Sharī'ah punishments. *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/410, from Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*.

Abū Jahl and 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abū Sarāḥ managed to reach the Prophet (ṢAAS) and declare their acceptance of Islam, so their lives were spared.<sup>34</sup>

Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar gathered, from reports, the names of those whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) said were to be killed with impunity. The total number was nine men and eight women.<sup>35</sup> Those who were to be killed were among those who had inflicted a great deal of harm upon the Muslims. The fact that they were to be killed was a lesson to anyone who turned to oppression and tyranny in the hope that he would be spared any punishment because of the mercy of Islam and the goodness of its followers.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) allowed Khuzā'ah to take revenge on Banū Bakr during the first day of the liberation of Makkah, until *ʿAṣr*. This was in return for Banū Bakr's treachery towards Khuzā'ah before the conquest, treachery which they had committed despite the fact that they had entered into the treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah.

When *ʿAṣr* came, the Prophet (ṢAAS) announced an end to all fighting in Makkah, and explained that Makkah was a sanctuary. When Khuzā'ah killed a man in an act of revenge, the Prophet (ṢAAS) paid the blood wit for him and emphasized that if anyone else was killed, his family would have the choice between just retribution and compensation *Diyyah*.<sup>36</sup>

Most of the people of Makkah received a general amnesty, despite the many ways in which they had harmed the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his mission, and despite the fact that the Muslim army was able to annihilate them. The announcement of the amnesty came when they were gathered near the Ka'bah, awaiting the judgment of the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning them. He said, "What do you think that I am about to do with you?" They replied, "Good, You are a noble brother, son of a noble brother." He said, "This day let no reproach be cast on you. May God forgive you."<sup>37</sup> (cf. *Yūsuf* 12:92). The following Qur'ānic verse was then revealed:

<sup>34</sup>Al Nasā'ī, *Sunan* (al Suyūṭī, *Zuhr al Rubā*, 7/105). There is some weakness in its *isnād*. The *ḥadīth* has two *Shāhids*, both narrated by al Bayhaqī. One of them is in Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/299, with an *isnād* which includes al Ḥakam ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā ibn Khatal instead of 'Abd Allāh ibn Khatal; there is some difference concerning his name, and Umm Sārah instead of 'Ikrimah. The other *shāhids* are in the *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/120, including 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al Makhzūmī, who is *maqbūl*. He mentions al Ḥuwayrith ibn Naqīdh instead of 'Ikrimah. Although these reports are *da'if*, they support one another to make the *ḥadīth* valid from a historical point of view. The report of the killing of Ibn Khatal while he was clinging to the curtains of the Ka'bah is in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/188, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/570).

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 8/11, 12.

<sup>36</sup>Narrated by Aḥmad in *al Musnad* (al Fath al Rabbānī, 21/159) with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihī*. See also a complementary report in *al Musnad*, 4/32, with a *ḥasan isnād*, where Ibn Ishāq clearly stated *taḥdīth*. See also another report in *al Musnad* 4/31; it includes Muslim ibn Yazīd al Sa'dī, who is *maqbūl*, but some *mutāba'āt* were found, so the report was strengthened to the degree of *ḥasan li ghayrihi*.

<sup>37</sup>Abū 'Ubayd, *al Amwāl*, 143, with a *ḥasan* but *mursal isnād*. See also Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/412, from the report of Ibn Ishāq with an *isnād* which contains some *majhūl* narrators.

And if ye do catch them out, catch them out no worse than they catch you out: but if ye show patience, that is indeed the best (course) for those who are patient. (*Al Nahl* 16:126)

The Prophet (ṢAAS) chose to forgive them and to show patience despite the things they had done to him. He refrained from punishing them out of generosity and for the sake of Allah, and said, "We shall show patience; we shall not punish them."<sup>38</sup>

The result of this general amnesty was that lives were saved, people were rescued from possible captivity and both movable wealth and land remained the property of their owners and were not taxed. Makkah was treated in a different way from other conquered lands because of its holiness and sanctity, because it is a place of pilgrimage and worship for all mankind, and a place sacred to God Almighty. For this reason, the majority of both earlier and later jurists suggested that it is not permissible to sell the land of Makkah or to rent its houses.<sup>39</sup> It is the abode of those who came there first: they occupy whatever space they need, and whatever is left over is for the accommodation of those who come to perform *Ḥajj* and *ʿUmrah* and to worship there. Some jurists suggested that it was permissible to sell the land of Makkah and rent its houses. Their evidence is strong while the evidence of those who say it is forbidden is *mursal* and *mawqūf*.<sup>40</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not stay in his house in Makkah. Instead, a tent was built for him in al Ḥujūn, the place where the Quraysh had agreed to boycott Banū Hāshim and the Muslims. When Usāmah ibn Zayd asked him whether he was going to stay in his house, he said, "Did 'Aqīl leave us any land or houses?" explaining that a Muslim cannot be the heir of a disbeliever.<sup>41</sup> 'Aqīl had been the heir of Abū Ṭālib, and he and his brother Ṭālib had sold all the houses. 'Alī and Ja'far had not inherited anything from their father because they were Muslims, and Abū Ṭālib had died as a *kāfir*.<sup>42</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not enter Makkah with the arrogant attitude of a conqueror. He was humble before God, thanking Him for His blessing and reciting *Sūrat al Fath* in a vibrant, quivering tone <sup>43</sup> while riding his camel.

<sup>38</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/135; al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 4/361, 362. The two *isnāds* support one another to the level of *ḥasan*. Aḥmad's *isnād* includes Hadīyah al Marūzī, who is *ṣadūq* but might become confused. Al Tirmidhī's *isnād* includes al Rabī' ibn Anas who is *ṣadūq* but is confused sometimes, and 'Isā ibn 'Ubayd al Kindī, who is *ṣadūq*. Al Ḥākim said, "The *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, although they did not report it;" and al Dhahabī agreed with him. (*al Mustadrak*, 2/359).

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Qayyim, *Zād al Ma'ād*, 2/194. This is the *madhhab* of Mujāhid and 'Atā, among the people of Makkah; Mālik among the people of Madīnah; Abū Ḥanīfah among the people of Iraq; and Sufyān al Thawrī and Imām Aḥmad and Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/187; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/567.

<sup>42</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/15.

<sup>43</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/187.

When he made *tawāf* around the Ka'bah, he pointed to its (Yamanī) corner with his stick, because he did not want to jostle the others who were making *tawāf*, and also to teach a lesson to his *Ummah*.<sup>44</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) announced that Makkah was a sanctuary and that it would not be invaded after its liberation.<sup>45</sup> He gave high status to the Quraysh, and announced that no Quraysh was to be captured and killed from the day of liberation to the day of Resurrection.<sup>46</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that the idols should be destroyed and the Ka'bah be cleansed of them. He himself took part in carrying this out. He knocked them down with his bow while reciting: "And say: Truth has (now) arrived, and falsehood perished: for falsehood is (by its nature) bound to perish."<sup>47</sup> (*Al Isrā'* 17:81)

There were 360 idols.<sup>48</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) covered with saffron the pictures of Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl and Ishāq, represented as lots with divination arrows which were inside the Ka'bah. He said, "May God ruin them (i.e., the *Kuffār*), for Ibrāhīm never drew lots with divination arrows."<sup>49</sup> There is a report which says that there was also a picture of Maryam inside the Ka'bah.<sup>50</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not enter the Ka'bah until these pictures had been destroyed.<sup>51</sup> Then he entered it and prayed two *rak'ah* in between two front pillars. The Ka'bah was built on six pillars. He prayed with his back to the door of the Ka'bah, and in such a position, that two pillars were on his left side, one pillar on his right, and three pillars were behind him.<sup>52</sup> Then he came out, called 'Uthmān ibn Ṭalḥah and gave him the key of the Ka'bah. Banū Shaybah had been responsible for the custodianship of the Ka'bah during the *Jāhiliyyah*, and it remained under their control.<sup>53</sup>

Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) touched the Black Stone and began to make *tawāf* around the Ka'bah, saying, "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*" and "*Allāhu Akbar*" remembering God and thanking Him. He was not in a state of *iḥrām*. He was wearing a helmet and then he donned a black turban. This indicates that it is permissible for one who does not wish to perform *ḥajj* or *umrah* to enter Makkah

<sup>44</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 1/434, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihi*; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 3/244, from al Ṭabarānī, with an *isnād* whose men are *ṣaḥīḥ*.

<sup>45</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 3/83. He said, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*. Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/412, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihi*.

<sup>46</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/97. Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/412, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>47</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/95, 96, 296, 297.

<sup>48</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/188; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/97.

<sup>49</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/88; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/365, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*. al Buṣayrī, *Ithāf al Khayrah al Maharah*, vol. 3, Shaybah, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>50</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/169.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 5/188.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 5/22; 1/109-110; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/556.

<sup>53</sup>A number of *mursal* and *munqaṭi'* reports were narrated concerning that; they become strong when they are joined together. (See 'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/83-5; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/19).



without being in a state of *iḥrām*.<sup>54</sup>

Thus the Ka'bah was cleansed of all aspects of idolatry and shameful traces of *jāhiliyyah* and once more became as God wished it to be, and as Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl had intended when they built it, to be a place of worship for God alone. Undoubtedly the cleansing of the Ka'bah from the idols was the greatest blow to idolatry in the whole of the Arabian peninsula because the Ka'bah had become the greatest center of idolatry.

After the liberation of Makkah, and as soon as the Ka'bah had been cleansed, the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Khālīd ibn al Walīd to Nakhlah to destroy the idol al 'Uzzā, which the whole tribe of Muḍar used to venerate, and Khālīd destroyed it.<sup>55</sup> He sent 'Amr ibn al 'Aṣ to Suwā', the idol of Hudhayl, and he destroyed it.<sup>56</sup> He sent Sa'd ibn Zayd al Ashhalī to the idol of Mushallal (near Qadīd, on the way from Makkah to Madīnah), and he destroyed it.<sup>57</sup> Thus the greatest centers of idolatry were demolished, as mentioned in the Qur'ān:

"Have ye seen Lāt, and 'Uzzā, and another, the third (goddess), Manāt?" (*Al Najm* 53:19-20)

Sūrat al Naṣr was also revealed concerning the conquest of Makkah:

When comes the help of God, and victory, and thou dost see the people enter God's religion in crowds, celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and pray for His Forgiveness: for He is oft-returning in grace and mercy. (*Al Naṣr* 110:1-3)<sup>58</sup>

The Arabs had been waiting for an end to the conflict between the Muslims and the Quraysh. When Makkah was liberated, they came forward in large numbers to declare their acceptance of Islam.<sup>59</sup> 'Amr ibn Salamah al Juramī said: "The Arabs were hesitant about embracing Islam until they saw who would win, saying, 'Wait. If he defeats them, then he is speaking the truth and is a Prophet.' When the victory came to us, every tribe rushed to declare their Islam."<sup>60</sup>

Ibn Ishāq commented on the victory: "The Arabs were holding back from making any decision about Islam until the conflict between the Quraysh and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was settled. This is because the Quraysh were the leaders of the people, the people of Ka'bah and the descendants of Ismā'īl the son of Ibrāhīm (AS). All the leaders of the Arabs accepted this. The Quraysh

<sup>54</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/21; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/570; al Nawawī, *Sharḥ 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/508.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/436; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/145. No report was proven *ṣaḥīḥ* concerning its destruction.

<sup>56</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/146.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.* 2/146.

<sup>58</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/189.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 5/191.

<sup>60</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/2, p. 70.

were the ones who had initiated the war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Makkah was liberated, and the Quraysh yielded to him and accepted Islam, the Arabs realized that they had no power to wage war on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or to engage in any hostile acts against him, so they entered the Religion of God, as God, glorified and exalted says, "In crowds," coming to the Prophet (ṢAAS) "from all directions."<sup>61</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) preached many sermons in Makkah. In the first sermon, which was given from the door of the Ka'bah, he explained about the blood money due in cases of manslaughter which appear deliberate. He abolished all the traditions of the *jāhiliyyah* including the traditions of revenge, except for two things: the duty of giving water to the Pilgrims, and the office of custodian of the Ka'bah; he permitted these two traditions to remain.<sup>62</sup>

In the second sermon, he announced the annulment of all alliances formed during the *jāhiliyyah*, except for those which were formed to do good and support the truth or to help relatives.<sup>63</sup>

In the third sermon, he announced that Makkah was a sanctuary, and that it was forbidden to hunt, to pick wild plants, to cut down trees, and to pick up and keep any lost objects within Makkah. Fighting was prohibited there. He explained that God had permitted him to fight there only for a short while at the time of the liberation.<sup>64</sup> He explained that there was to be no *hijrah* after the liberation of Makkah, only *jihād* and *niyyah*.<sup>65</sup> *Hijrah* to Madīnah was no longer obligatory, but the law concerning *hijrah* from a *kāfir* country to an Islamic country remains valid until the Day of Judgment.<sup>66</sup> The *hijrah* to Madīnah was instituted in order to enable the Muslims to worship their Lord in safety, to strengthen the Islamic state in Madīnah in the face of its foes, and to enable them to protect the state and then expand its territory through *jihād*. After the liberation of Makkah, *hijrah* was no longer a necessity because Islam had become stronger and it was better for the Muslims to stay in their own homes in order to establish Islamic worship and to spread the guidance of Islam to all areas. *Jihād* remains valid until the Day of Judgment. For this reason, the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked the Muslims to make a pledge of Islam, *imān* and *jihād* after the liberation, but not of *hijrah*.<sup>67</sup> Ibn 'Umar explained this by saying, "*Hijrah* to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suspended after the conquest, but *hijrah* per se will never be suspended as long as there are

<sup>61</sup>*Strat Ibn Hishām*, 2/560.

<sup>62</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 3/410, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihi*; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/492, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>63</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/409; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/215. His *isnād* includes 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ayyāsh, who is *ṣadūq* and sometimes confused.

<sup>64</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/17; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/568.

<sup>65</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/18, 4/28.

<sup>66</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 4/49, 7/270.

<sup>67</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/72, 193; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/26.

*kāfirs* to be fought." That is, as long as there is some *kāfir* territory in the world, *hijrah* remains obligatory for everybody who embraces Islam and fears that he may be enticed from his religion.<sup>68</sup>

In the fourth sermon, he explained that the family of someone who is killed has the choice between taking the blood money or executing the killer in revenge.<sup>69</sup>

A number of laws of the *Sharī'ah* became clear during the liberation, among which are the following: The permissibility of the traveler either fasting or breaking his fast during Ramaḍān, without being guilty of any sin, because the Prophet (ṢAAS) fasted during the army's march from Madīnah as far as Kadīd, where he broke his fast.<sup>70</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed *ṣalāt al ḍuḥā*, consisting of eight short *rak'ahs*.<sup>71</sup> This *ṣalāh* is *sunnah mu'akkadah*.

The one who is better qualified to lead the *ṣalāh* is the one who has memorized more of the Qur'ān.<sup>72</sup>

The maximum period during which a traveler may shorten his *ṣalāh*: the Prophet (ṢAAS) stayed in Makkah for nineteen days, during which time he shortened his *ṣalāh*.<sup>73</sup>

The validity of protection given by women: Umm Hānī gave protection to two men who were her in-laws, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) endorsed her protection.<sup>74</sup> The scholars agreed that a woman's protection is permissible.<sup>75</sup>

The prohibition of *mut'ah* unions, which had been permitted for three days only, then it became *ḥarām* for all time.<sup>76</sup> *Mut'ah* was forbidden and permitted twice. It was permissible before Khaybar, and was forbidden on the day of Khaybar. Then it was allowed on the day of the liberation of Makkah, but it was forbidden three days later, in a prohibition which is in force until the Day of Judgment.<sup>77</sup>

The explanation of the law: "The child is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer." This came about through the story of the son of the slave girl Zam'ah. Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqāṣ and 'Abd ibn Zam'ah had been having a dispute concerning the child, and the Messenger judged in favor of 'Abd ibn Zam'ah, because the boy had been born on the bed of 'Abd ibn Zam'ah's father.<sup>78</sup>

The law concerning the marriage of a *Mushrik* whose wife becomes Muslim

<sup>68</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 7/270.

<sup>69</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 1/38; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/569.

<sup>70</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/451.

<sup>71</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/189; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/289.

<sup>72</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/191.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 5/190.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, 4/122.

<sup>75</sup>Al Khattābī suggested this ('*Awān al Ma'būd*, 7/44).

<sup>76</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/586-7.

<sup>77</sup>Al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/553.

<sup>78</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 9/191.

before he does, as happened in the cases of Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah and 'Ikrimah ibn Abū Jahl. The marriage contract between them and their wives was still considered valid, because they embraced Islam before their wives' 'iddah expired.<sup>79</sup>

The law concerning the *waṣīyah* (will). It is not permissible to make a will for more than one-third of one's wealth. This is indicated by the story of Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqāṣ. When he became ill, the Prophet (ṢAAS) forbade him to bequeath more than one-third of his wealth.<sup>80</sup>

The woman is permitted to take a reasonable amount of her husband's money to spend on her own needs and those of her children, if her husband does not give her this money, as reported in the story of Hind bint 'Utbah, the wife of Abū Sufyān, who asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning this matter.<sup>81</sup>

The prohibition of selling wine, carrion, and idols.<sup>82</sup>

The explanation of the law concerning dyeing gray hairs with henna or *sufrah*, as in the story of Abū Quḥāfah, whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered to change the color of his gray hair.<sup>83</sup>

The prohibition of interceding regarding one of the punishments prescribed by God after it has become known to the leader, as happened in the story of the Makhzūmī woman who committed theft and whose hand was cut off. The Prophet (ṢAAS) became angry with Usāmah ibn Zayd, because he had interceded on her behalf. He said:

O people, those who have gone before you were destroyed, because if anyone of high rank committed theft amongst them, they spared him; and if anyone of low rank committed theft, they inflicted the prescribed punishment upon him. By Him in Whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, if Fātimah the daughter of Muḥammad were to steal, I would have her hand cut off.<sup>84</sup>

This *ḥadīth* includes the confirmation that all men are equal before the laws of the *Sharī'ah*, and warns the leaders against carrying out the prescribed penalties *ḥudūd* only on the weak, and not on the strong, who may try to escape punishment through the intervention of influential acquaintances or by bringing pressure to bear. Undoubtedly the survival of any state or society

<sup>79</sup>Mālik ibn Anas, *al Muwaṭṭa'* (al Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al Muwaṭṭa'*, 3/156-7); Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/417.

<sup>80</sup>al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 3/291. He said, "This is a *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/369.

<sup>81</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/60.

<sup>82</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/110; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/689-690.

<sup>83</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/244.

<sup>84</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/192; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/47.

is based mainly on the upholding of justice. If a state is an oppressor, its enemies can find a way to destroy it, because the oppression of the state gives the victims of oppression an excuse to come together and gives them an incentive to make sacrifices in order to bring about the downfall of the state.

As a result of the liberation of Makkah, the center of the *Shirk* camp moved from the Quraysh to the two tribes of Hawāzin and Thaqīf, who hastened to fill this gap and lead the *Mushrikūn* in a war against Islam. This resulted in the *Ghazwah* of Ḥunayn and the siege of Tā'if.

## ***Chapter 15***



## The Battle of Ḥunayn

Hawāzin was a famous northern Arab tribe from the Muḍar 'Adnān branch of the Arabs. The Hawāzin produced many subtribes among which was Thaqīf. Thaqīf had settled in and around the fortified city of Ṭā'if, while other clans of Hawāzin had spread in Tihāmah along the coast of the Red Sea, from the southern borders of Syria to the northern borders of Yaman.<sup>1</sup>

The markets of the Arabs were held in the territory of Thaqīf during the *Jāhiliyyah*. One of these markets was the famous market of 'Ukāz, between Nakhlah and al Ṭā'if, where merchants sold and exchanged goods and literary and poetry contests were held. Another of these markets was that of Dhū al Majāz, near 'Arafah, a distance of *farsakh* from 'Arafah in the direction of Ṭā'if. Another was the market of Majannah in Marr al Zahrān which was far from Ṭā'if and close to Makkah.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly the people of Thaqīf used to derive great benefits from these Arab markets, both in their own trade and in marketing their own agricultural produce as they owned vineyards, pomegranate orchards, and vegetable and herb gardens. They had also benefited from the cultural crosspollination which ensued from these seasonal encounters, in that their literature had improved and they had broadened their horizons. They also played the role of middlemen in the external trade between Syria and the Yaman, on the one hand, and the desert nomads, on the other.

The interests of Hawāzin and Thaqīf were closely interrelated with those of the Quraysh, because they lived in such close proximity; there are only 90 kilometers between them. The Qurayshīs used to spend the summer in Ṭā'if; they owned orchards and houses there, and Ṭā'if was known as "The garden of Quraysh."<sup>3</sup> These relations between Quraysh and Hawāzin were strengthened by ancient ties of kinship which had been reinforced by recent ties of marriage. They were both descended from Muḍar who was the sixth grandfather of the Hawāzin, and the seventh or fifth (the genealogists differ

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<sup>1</sup>Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al Buldān*, 2/137, 3/204, 4/216-7, 5/55, 216-262; al Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al Manāsik*, pp. 532-8; al Balādī, *Nasab Ḥarb*, p. 349-50.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>The garden of 'Utbah and Shaybah, the two Quraysh sons of Rabī'ah, is well-known in the Sirah, al Wahat is the garden of 'Amr ibn al 'Aṣ, and Dhū al Ḥaram is the wealth of Abū Sufyān. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al Buldān*, 5/386; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 3/971; *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 1/709; al Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, p. 80; al Balādhūri, *Futūḥ*, p. 56.



slightly) grandfather of the Quraysh.<sup>4</sup> A glance at the biographical books about the *Ṣaḥābah* will soon show clearly the intricate pattern of relationships between the Quraysh and the Hawāzin as a result of the many connections by marriage between the two tribes.<sup>5</sup> As confirmation of those ties, we find that 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al Thaqafī was the messenger of the Quraysh to the Muslims at al Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>6</sup>

Because the Quraysh and Hawāzin were so closely related, it comes as no surprise that the Hawāzin supported the Quraysh in their conflict against the Muslims from the time when the Muslims were in Makkah, and that the flag of opposition to Islam passed into their hands after the liberation of Makkah, thus filling the gap which was left when the Quraysh were no longer the leaders of the camp of *Shirk* in the Arabian peninsula.

The Prophet (before the *hijrah*) had gone to the Thaqīf in Ṭā'if to call them to Islam. After they rejected his call, he asked them to conceal the fact that he himself had gone to them, but they refused to do anything except display the most open hostility and they ordered their children to pelt him with stones. The interests of the Quraysh and the Hawāzin were identical: whoever went against the religion and interests of the Quraysh also went against the religion of the Hawāzin and threatened their interests.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was well aware of the importance of the Thaqīf embracing Islam because of their military and economic position and because of their strong ties with the Quraysh. He hastened to call their leaders to Islam even after the failure of his journey to the Thaqīf. While he was presenting himself to the leaders of the tribes, he met Ibn 'Abd Yā Layl ibn 'Abd Kalāl at al 'Aqabah. Ibn 'Abd Yā Layl ibn 'Abd Kalāl did not embrace Islam and this so distressed the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he went far from Makkah and could not find his way back.<sup>7</sup>

The Hawāzin remained aloof from the conflict which flared between the Quraysh and the Muslims after the *hijrah*. Perhaps they thought that the Quraysh were able to deal with it on their own. They merely watched the battles of Badr, Uhud and al Khandaq without doing anything. Al Akhnas ibn Shurayq al Thaqafī, the ally of Banū Zahrah, had persuaded them to return from Badr without fighting, so long as their own trade was safe.<sup>8</sup> 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al Thaqafī had asked the Quraysh to accept the plan which the

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 1/1,93; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 1/55; Ibn Qutaybah, *al Ma'ārif*, pp. 31, 51; al Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, 2/262; al Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al Irb fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al 'Arab*, p. 397.

<sup>5</sup>Refer to the books of the knowledge of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and genealogies, biographies of Maymūnah bint al Ḥārith, Lubābah al Ṣuḡrā bint al Ḥārith, Ṣafiyah bint Ḥazan, Umm Jamīl bint Mujaḥid al Hilālīyyah, Zaynab bint Abū Sufyān and Umm al Ḥakam bint Abū Sufyān.

<sup>6</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* 3/170.

<sup>7</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/91, 9/95; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/1420.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Hajar, *al Isābah*, 1/25.

Prophet (ṢAAS) had suggested to them.<sup>9</sup> However, these individual attitudes expressed the wisdom of only a few of the people of Thaḳīf; they did not represent any peaceful attitude on the part of Thaḳīf and the Hawāzin as a whole towards the Muslims.

It appears that the fact that the Thaḳīf had not taken part in the events preceding the liberation of Makkah was due to their dependence on the Quraysh and their scanty knowledge of the real strength of the Muslims. This does not mean that the Hawāzin were unaware, just before the conquest of Makkah, of the threat posed by the Muslims. The Quraysh had been aware of their weakness vis-a-vis the Muslims ever since they had learned about them and had made the peace treaty with them at al Ḥudaybiyah. They continued to become weaker as the days passed and the influence of Islam grew stronger. The Quraysh's morale was low at the time of the liberation of Makkah. Their Thaḳafi neighbors were aware of that and some of their men had been close to the events.

The fact that the Hawāzin and Thaḳīf did not come to the aid of the Quraysh may have been due to the Muslims' success in concealing the aim of their movements. The Hawāzin feared for their own homes when the Muslims advanced, and for that reason it did not occur to them to defend Makkah. Al Wāqidī indicates that they sent a spy to find out whether the Muslims were aiming for the Quraysh or the Hawāzin. The Hawāzin had been gathering their troops and preparing themselves to confront the Muslims since the latter had set out from Madīnah. They thought that they were the target.<sup>10</sup> This idea was strengthened by uncertainty about the Muslims' attitude regarding the fate of the treaty of al Ḥudaybiyah.

After Makkah had been liberated and the leadership of the Quraysh had fallen, the Hawāzin became the flag-bearers of *Shirk*, and quickly moved to confront the situation, especially when the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not put a stop to Muslim military activity after the conquest. He (ṢAAS) sent out expeditions including one consisting of 30 cavalry which he sent to Nakhlah under the leadership of Khālīd ibn al Walīd to destroy al 'Uzzā.<sup>11</sup> This was a house which the Arabs used to venerate and it was in the territory of Thaḳīf.<sup>12</sup> The expedition set out five nights before the end of Ramaḍān. Six nights before the end of Ramaḍān, he sent Sa'd ibn Zayd al Ashhalī with 20 cavalry to Manāt in al Mushallal (the present-day al Qadidiyah). Manāt was an idol which was

<sup>9</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/170.

<sup>10</sup>Al Ṭabarī, 3/70.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/436; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/145; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/65; al Māzī, *Tuḥfat al Ashrāf*, 4/235, *Ḥadīth* no. 5054, transmitting from al Nisā'i, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, it includes al Walīd ibn Jamī' who is *ṣadūq*, but gets confused. No *ṣaḥīḥ* report has been proven concerning the destruction of al 'Uzzā.

<sup>12</sup>Al Balādī, *Nasab Ḥarb*, p. 388.

venerated by the Arabs and especially by the *Anṣār* before they embraced Islam. Sa'd al Ashhalī destroyed it and returned to Makkah.<sup>13</sup> It is also said that 'Alī was the one who destroyed Manāt, and that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent him there when he was on his way to Makkah before the liberation.<sup>14</sup> These two reports are weak from the *ḥadīth* point of view: Ibn Sa'd transmitted it without *isnād*, and he narrated it from his teacher al Wāqidī, who is *ḍa'īf*, and Ibn al Kalbi is also *ḍa'īf*. There is a report which asserts that Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb was the one who destroyed Manāt<sup>15</sup> but this report is no stronger than the other two. However, there is no doubt that Manāt was destroyed. This has been established from an historical point of view, and *ḥadīth* is not like history as far as the strength of evidence is concerned.

In Shawwāl of the eighth year AH, the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent an expedition consisting of 350 men under the leadership of Khālīd ibn al Walīd to Banū Jadhīmah in Yalamlam, 80 kilometers to the south of Makkah, inviting them to Islam. When he reached them, he invited them to Islam. They could not express themselves properly by saying "*ʾaslamnā*" (we have embraced Islam), so they said, "*ṣaba'nā, ṣaba'nā*" (we have changed our religion). Khālīd killed some of them and took some others prisoners, then after a while he ordered that the prisoners should be killed. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and some other *Ṣaḥābah* refrained from killing the prisoners, and when they came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) they told him what had happened. The Prophet (ṢAAS) raised both his hands and said twice, "O God! I am innocent of what Khālīd has done."<sup>16</sup>

Khālīd ibn al Walīd misunderstood their saying "*ṣaba'nā*," and thought that they did not want to declare their Islam, or that they were disparaging Islam, so he did not spare them.<sup>17</sup> 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar realized that the people had expressed their Islam in the only words they knew. The terminology of the *Sharī'ah* was not clear to all the Arabs at that time. For this reason, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) disowned what Khālīd had done in haste, he did not punish him or demote him from his position of leadership in the army, because he had made *ijtihād* and had blundered.

There is a report, which cannot be taken as evidence because it is *munqaṭi'*,

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/146-7; al Wāqidī, *al Maḡhāzī*, 2/869-70.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn al Kalbī, *al Aṣṇām*, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 1/86; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Isābah*, 2/179, attributed to Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>16</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/131; Ibn Kathīr, *al Tafsīr*, 4/306. For the mutual trading of insults between Ibn 'Awf and Khālīd, see, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4/1967.

<sup>17</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/57. Quraysh used to say of anybody who had embraced Islam (*aslamnā*), that he had changed his religion (*ṣaba'a*), and the word had come to be used in an insulting way. This was the excuse of Khālīd, who knew the shades of meaning of the word, and the ways in which it was used. It seems that Banū Jadhīmah were unaware of the shades of meaning and the effect this word would have on the Muslims.

which says that the Prophet (ṢAAS) paid the compensation for all of the dead, and that he paid some extra money to comfort the bereaved and to show that he disapproved of their being killed.<sup>18</sup> This is in agreement with the Islamic laws concerning the case of killing by mistake. However, if we were to rely on this *munqaṭi'* report, we would have to accept the whole of it: it mentions that when Khālīd ibn al Walīd came to Banū Jadhīmah, they were carrying weapons. He ordered them to lay aside their weapons and told them that everyone had accepted Islam. So they threw down their weapons; then he tied them up and killed a number of them. Ibn Ishāq narrated this and other reports, which assert that what Khālīd did was in revenge for his uncle al Fākih ibn al Mughīrah, whom Banu Jadhīmah had killed during the *jāhiliyyah*. Ibn Kathīr commented on the reports of Ibn Ishāq by saying, "These reports are *mursal* and *munqaṭi'*," that is, they cannot be taken as evidence.<sup>19</sup> The most important fact which could clear Khālīd's name and prove that he had made a sincere *ijtihād* and had made a mistake was the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not punish him and thought it sufficient to disown his deed.

In any case, two of the Muslims' expedition after the liberation of Makkah were in the territory of the Hawāzin and Thaqīf. These expeditions would not remain hidden from the Hawāzin for long. The Hawāzin began to gather their forces in order to confront the Muslims only half a month after the liberation of Makkah.<sup>20</sup> They intended to attack the Muslims before the Muslims could attack them. The fact that they wanted a decisive battle is indicated by the way that they gathered together all their wealth, womenfolk, and children, so that no one would flee and leave his wealth and family behind. They were led by Mālīk ibn 'Awf al Naṣrī. Other tribes of Ghatafan and others<sup>21</sup> joined the Hawāzin, but Ka'b and Kilāb of Hawāzin held back.<sup>22</sup>

It may be noted that Mālīk ibn 'Awf organized his people in effective ranks: he put cavalry first, then the infantry, followed by the womenfolk, the sheep, and the camels.<sup>23</sup> Mālīk al Naṣrī was 30 years old and was known for his courage and gallantry in battle.<sup>24</sup> There are some reports which state that Durayd ibn al Ṣimmah disapproved of Mālīk al Naṣrī's taking the women, children, and possessions out with the army because, in his opinion, if some-

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Iṣābah*, 2/430. This is from the *marāsīl* of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al Bāqir, and is *munqaṭi'* because al Bāqir was born some time between 40 and 56 AH, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*, 9/351.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/431; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/66; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/313-4.

<sup>20</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusūl wa al Mulūk*, 3/70.

<sup>21</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/180-1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/735.

<sup>22</sup>*Sirah Ibn Hishām*, 2/437.

<sup>23</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/736; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/157.

<sup>24</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣābah*, 3/182, 352.

one was routed and was determined to flee, nothing would stop him. But Mālik al Naṣrī paid no heed to his view.<sup>25</sup> Al Wāqidī is the only scholar who mentions the number of the army of Hawāzin. He says that they were twenty thousand.<sup>26</sup> Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar tends to accept this number and says that they were more than double the number of Muslims.<sup>27</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Ḥadrad al Aslamī to gain intelligence about the army of the Hawāzin. He stayed among them for one or two days and returned to the Muslims with information about them.<sup>28</sup> The Muslims then prepared themselves to confront them.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) borrowed 100 coats of mail from Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah<sup>29</sup> who was still a *mushrik*. Ṣafwān asked him whether he was taking them by force, or as a loan. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him that it was a loan and returned them after the battle of Ḥunayn, thanking Ṣafwān for his favor.<sup>30</sup> Ibn 'Abd al Barr narrated some reports without *isnāds* which said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked Ḥuwaytib ibn 'Abd al 'Uzzā for a loan of 40,000 *dirhams* and that he accepted the help of Nawfal ibn al Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, which consisted of 3,000 spears.<sup>31</sup> There is nothing to prevent us from believing that he sought help from them both since it was proven that he asked Ṣafwān for help, although Ṣafwān was a *mushrik*. Furthermore, Islam was now firmly established and the Islamic characteristic of the battle would not be affected by accepting the help of others, so long as no conditions were imposed which compromised the Muslims' religious commitments.

The Muslims did not take long to prepare themselves because the army which had liberated Makkah had not engaged in any exhausting battles, apart from some brief skirmishes in al Khandamah. They were ready to face the Hawāzin. On the fifth of Shawwāl, the Muslims moved towards Ḥunayn. They had stayed in Makkah for 15 days after the conquest which had taken place on the nineteenth of Ramaḍān. They arrived at Ḥunayn on the evening of the tenth of Shawwāl.<sup>32</sup> From that it seems that the closer they came to Ḥunayn,

<sup>25</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/437.

<sup>26</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 3/893.

<sup>27</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 8/29.

<sup>28</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/48-9. He said, "The *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*," and al Dhahabī agreed with him. The *ḥadīth* has *shawāhid* which made al Shaykh al Albānī judge it to be *ṣaḥīḥ* when all the *isnāds* were taken into consideration (*Irwa' al Ghalīl*, 5/344-6).

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibn Mājah, *al Sunan*, 2/809. al Nasā'ī, *al Mujaṭabā*, 7/276. It is *munqaṭi'* between Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Rabī'ah. It may be quoted with reference to history, because it agrees with the Islamic *aḥkām* concerning fulfilling a promise to return something which has been borrowed.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Isti'āb fī Ma'rifa al Aṣḥāb*, 1/385; 3/537.

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 2/437; al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 3/151; Ibn al Turkmanī, *al Jawhar al Naqī bi Ḥāshiyat Sunan al Bayhaqī*; al Nasā'ī, *al Sunan*, 3/100; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 2/562; 8/27.

the more slowly and carefully they advanced, because Ḥunayn is only 26 kilometers to the east of Makkah. It is known nowadays as al Sharā'ī'.<sup>33</sup> When the army had first set out from Makkah, they had moved quickly.<sup>34</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) appointed 'Attāb ibn Usayd as *Amīr* of Makkah in his absence.<sup>35</sup> The number of the Muslim army was greater than in all the previous campaigns, because the army which had conquered Makkah which numbered some 10,000 warriors<sup>36</sup> was joined by 2,000 of the people of Makkah who had embraced Islam and who were called the *ṭulaqā'* (the freed). The reports agree concerning this. Although they are not *ṣaḥīḥ*, from a *ḥadīth* point of view, with regard to the number of *ṭulaqā'* who joined the army, they can still be taken as historical evidence.<sup>37</sup> For this reason, the Battle of Ḥunayn is considered to be the biggest and most serious battle which the Muslims fought during the lifetime of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was concerned about guarding his army, so when the time for *Ṣalāt al 'Ishā'* came and they were close to the enemy, he ordered one of his companions to look out for the enemy from one of the mountains overlooking Wādī Ḥunayn. When the companion told him what he had seen of the gathering of Hawāzin and their possession, he expressed his great trust in God and His help by saying: "That will be the booty of the Muslims tomorrow, if God wills." Then Anas ibn Abū Marthad al Ghanawī volunteered to guard the Muslims while they slept in that place. The Prophet (ṢAAS) enjoined on him not to neglect guarding them until *Fajr*. Anas performed his duty well and the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave him the promise of paradise.<sup>38</sup>

The presence of the *ṭulaqā'* had a negative effect on the Muslim army because they were new in Islam and were not totally free from the influences of *jāhiliyah* which had become firmly entrenched in their hearts and lives. On the way to Ḥunayn, when some of them saw a tree which was known as Dhāt Anwāt, on which the *Mushrikūn* used to hang their weapons, they said, "O

<sup>33</sup>Ḥamad al Jāsir, *Ta'liqāt*, p. 471, on *Kitāb al Manāsik*, by al Ḥarbī; Fu'ād Ḥamzah, *Qalb Jazīrat al 'Arab*, p. 268.

<sup>34</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 1/210; 2/9; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 1/237; 2/83-4. He deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ* and al Dhahabī agreed with him.

<sup>35</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/440; Khalifah, *Tārīkh*, p. 88; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/73; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/270.

Although these reports are weak from a *ḥadīth* point of view, they may still be taken as historical evidence, especially since they agree with the Islamic regulations concerning the appointment of *Amīrs*.

<sup>36</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/20; Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/399-400.

<sup>37</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/440; Khalifah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, p. 88; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/154-5; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/73; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/121. Al Ḥākim deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ*, and al Dhahabī agreed with him, but al Haythamī indicated some defect ('illah) in it; that is 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ayyād whom no one found to be *thiqah*. (*Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/186)

<sup>38</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 1/210, 2/9. This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ* in its *isnād*.

Messenger of God, will you make a Dhāt Anwāt for us, such as they have?" He said, "Glory be to God! You have said what Mūsā's people said to him: 'Make us a god even as they have gods! By Him in whose hand is my soul, you would follow the customs of those who were before you.'"<sup>39</sup>

Undoubtedly their request showed that they did not have a really clear appreciation of what belief in the oneness of God entailed, despite the fact that they had embraced Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS), however, explained to them the polytheistic implications of their request and warned them against it. He did not punish them or rebuke them because he knew that they were new in Islam.

Another of the negative effects was the pride in their numbers which the Muslims felt. One of them openly attributed<sup>40</sup> the anticipated victory to the fact that they "would never be defeated because of their small numbers." Some others also felt the same way, such that they deserved to be rebuked in the Qur'ān and to be reminded that they should not rely on anything other than God, otherwise He may leave them to their own devices:

...and on the day of Ḥunayn: behold! your great numbers elated you, but they availed you naught: the land, for all that it is wide, did constrain you, and ye turned back in retreat. (*Al Tawbah* 9:25)

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was aware of this, and he demonstrated to the Muslims, through his supplications, that he asked only God for help, and sought refuge in Him alone. He said, "O God, with Thy help do I strive, with Thy help do I assail, and with Thy help I do battle." He told them the story of a Prophet who was proud of the number of his *Ummah*, and that God sent death upon them.<sup>41</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) therefore watched the Muslims and corrected any deviation in their thought and behavior, even during the most dangerous combat against their strongest enemies, because victory depended on the following condition: "...if ye will aid (the cause of) God, He will aid you..." (*Muḥammad* 47:7). But could such a large group be educated, and could the residue of the *jāhiliyyah* in which they had lived all their lives be eradicated overnight? Their feelings of pride in their numbers were the reason for their fleeing at the beginning of the battle, but their flight and the horror of battle soon brought them back to their senses and made them put their trust purely in God. They, and not the disbelievers, thus won the second round of the battle decisively.

<sup>39</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 3/3212-2. He said, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*." Al Nasā'ī, in *al Sunan al Kubrā*, as in *Tuhfat al Ashrāf*, 11/112, *Ḥadīth* no. 15516. Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 5/217.

<sup>40</sup>Some reports were narrated which were weak in defining who said that. (Al Wāqidī, *al Maḡhāzī*, 3/890; al Haythamī, *Kashf al Astār 'an Zawā'id al Bazzār*, 2/346-7; Ibn Hishām, 2/444).

<sup>41</sup>Al Dārimī, *Sunan*, 5/135; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/333, 6/16.

Another of the negative effects which was due to the presence of the *ṭulaqā'* and some of the Bedouin in the army was the fact that the majority of them had gone out to gain booty and to see who would be defeated. They did not feel that they were fighting to defend any principle or cause. They were new in Islam and had not tasted faith or felt the love of *jihād* for the sake of God; indeed some of them were still disbelievers.<sup>42</sup> Of course, some of them were good Muslims, and there is nothing strange in the fact that they rushed to seize the booty. At the beginning of the battle, they did so, and persuaded other soldiers to join them. One of them expressed his joy at the Muslims' flight during the first stage of the battle. Kildah ibn Umayyah, the brother of Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah al Juḥamī, said, "Surely sorcery is vain today." Ṣafwān, who was a *mushrik* at that time, said, "Shut up! May God smash your mouth! By God, I would rather be ruled by a man of the Quraysh than a man of the Hawāzin."<sup>43</sup>

Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah reported that Abū Sufyān, Ṣafwān, Ḥākim ibn Ḥazām, the leaders of Makkah, were standing at the rear of the lines of battle, watching to see who would be the victor. 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr mentioned that Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah sent one of his slaves to bring him information about the fighting. Ibn Ishāq reports that when Abū Sufyān saw the Muslims fleeing, he said, "Their flight will not stop before they get to the sea!" and that he had his divining arrows with him in his quiver.<sup>44</sup> However, the reports of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, 'Urwah, and Ibn Ishāq are not *ṣaḥīḥ* from the *ḥadīth* point of view, because they are *mursal*. But the reports of the three scholars of the campaigns support one another and give an historical picture of the attitudes of the leaders of Makkah, including Ṣafwān who was a *mushrik*, and Abū Sufyān who at that time was a new Muslim whose "heart had been (recently) reconciled (to Truth)." (*Al Tawbah*, 9:60)

## The Battle

The Hawāzin reached Wādī Ḥunayn before the Muslims. They chose their positions and scattered their battalions among its ravines, turnings, and trees. Their plan was well organized. It involved taking the Muslims by surprise

<sup>42</sup>It was said that 80 of the people of Makkah went out, and they were still *Kāfirs*. (Al Qastalānī, *al Mawāhib al Ladūnnīyah*, 1/162; al Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al Mawāhib*, 3/5).

<sup>43</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/179-180. He said, Aḥmad and Abū Ya'la narrated it, and Aḥmad's men are the men of *ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Ishāq clearly stated *samā'* in the report of Abū Ya'la.

<sup>44</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/443-4; al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 2/45. Its *isnād* includes Abu 'Alāthah Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid, who is *majhūl*. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/230.



and firing arrows at them as they advanced into the steep valley of Ḥunayn.<sup>45</sup> The Hawāzin's morale was high because their leader, Mālik al Naṣrī, had explained to them that the Muslims had never fought anybody like them with their knowledge of warfare, their bravery, and their great numbers.<sup>46</sup> The Muslims advanced along the valley before dawn broke. The cavalry came first, under the leadership of Khālīd ibn al Walīd, and with Banū Salīm in front. They were followed by the rest of the army, organized in ranks.<sup>47</sup>

At the beginning of the battle, the foremost ranks of the Hawāzin fell back before the advance of the Muslims, leaving behind some booty which the soldiers rushed to gather,<sup>48</sup> as if they thought that Hawāzin had been completely defeated. But the Hawāzin surprised them with a heavy shower of arrows coming at them from all sides of the Wādī. Some of the Muslims had rushed out without preparing themselves completely for battle. Some of them were bareheaded and some of the young men were not carrying enough weapons.<sup>49</sup> They had not given the matter enough consideration. In addition to that there was the shock of the surprise attack and the accuracy of the archers of the Hawāzin where "nearly every arrow struck a man, and they hardly made any mistakes in firing their arrows,"<sup>50</sup> as al Barā' ibn 'Āzib, one of the Ṣaḥābī eyewitnesses of the battle, described it. The Muslims' cavalry, and then the infantry, were laid open to attack. The *ṭulaqā'* and Bedouin fled, followed by the rest of the army, until only a small group stood firm with the Prophet (ṢAAS) as a result of his steadfastness.

The fighting during this first stage lasted from *Fajr* to *'Ishā'* and continued through the night. Then all the Muslims were laid open to attack and fled. The heat during the day was very strong. Before the battle the Muslims sought shade under the trees during the day, but at the time of the battle they were exposed to the burning sun. The ground was sandy and the dust was kicked up into their faces, thus limiting the fighters' ability to see, as one of them said: "We could not see our hands in front of our faces."<sup>51</sup> On the other hand

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<sup>45</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/442, from the *ḥadīth* of the Ṣaḥābī Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al Anṣārī, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* in which Ibn Ishāq clearly stated *ṣamā'*. Aḥmad also reported it in *al Musnad*, 3/376; Abu Ya'lā, *al Musnad*, 2/200, No. 302; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mawāriḍ al Ḥamān*, p. 417.

<sup>46</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/330; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 3/893.

<sup>47</sup>Al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 3/895-7. Herein he is the only one who mentions in detail all the standards of the Arab tribes and their carriers. Khālīd ibn al Walīd's leadership of the cavalry is proved by a *ḥadīth* of Anas ibn Mālik, one of those who witnessed the battle. (*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/130-1; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/735).

<sup>48</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/25; *Muslim*, 3/261.

<sup>49</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/35; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/260-261, from the *ḥadīth* of al Barā' ibn 'Āzib, one of those who witnessed the battle.

<sup>50</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/35; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/260-261.

<sup>51</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 5/286; Abū Dāwūd, 2/679; al Bazzār, *Musnad (Kashf al Astār)*, 2/350; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/156, whose quote is based on Abū Hammām 'Abd Allāh ibn Yassār, who is *majhūl*; no one deemed him *thiqah* except Ibn Ḥibbān, but Abū Dāwūd described the quotation as a *nabīl ḥadīth*, and al Haythamī deemed its *isnād* to be *thiqah*. (*Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/182); Ibn Ḥajar, *Mukhtaṣar Zawā'id Musnad al Bazzār*, p. 251, No. 816.

the Hawāzin were able to make use of their soldiers lying in ambush in the turnings and ravines of the valley.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) rode his mule Daldal<sup>52</sup> despite the fact that he could afford horses. By doing so, he wanted to establish the idea of standing firm in the minds of the Muslims, because mules are not suited to either attack-and-retreat or fleeing, unlike horses.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) looked at the Muslims fleeing and called them to hold fast, while urging his mule forward and saying, "I am the Prophet undoubtedly. I am the son of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib." His uncle al 'Abbās and Abū Sufyān ibn al Ḥārith were holding onto the reins of the mule to prevent it from carrying him into the midst of the enemy.<sup>53</sup> A few of the Muslims had only retreated a little,<sup>54</sup> while most of them had fled far from the battle. Only ten or twelve of the companions stood firm with the Prophet (ṢAAS), surrounding him. Among them were al 'Abbās, Abū Sufyān ibn al Ḥārith, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī.<sup>55</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered his uncle, al 'Abbās, who had a strong voice to call the people back. Then he called the *Anṣār* and those who had pledged allegiance to him under the tree (*Aṣḥāb al Shajarah*) in particular, then Banū al Ḥārith ibn Khazraj. They came back to him in succession until there were 80 or 100 of them, and they fought the Hawāzin.<sup>56</sup>

They began a new round, filled with courage, sincerity, determination and faith, and putting all their trust in God. The Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed to God, asking Him for victory, saying, "If You will that we perish, You will not be worshipped after this day."<sup>57</sup> When the enemy descended upon him, he got off his mule and proceeded on foot.<sup>58</sup> When the fighting intensified, the companions took refuge with him because of his courage and endurance.<sup>59</sup> When the fleeing Muslims saw that, and heard al 'Abbās calling them, they

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<sup>52</sup>See also al Qaṣṭalānī's comment on that (*al Mawāhib al Ladunniyah*, 1/163). Al Wāqidi is the only one who mentions that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was wearing two hauberks and a helmet. (*al Maghāzī*, 3/895-897).

<sup>53</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1398-260. al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/255. He said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of the two *Shaykhs*, although they did not report it"; al Dhahabī said nothing about it. Abu Yā'īla, *al Musnad*, 3/338B, No. 303. Its men are *ṣaḥīḥ* except for 'Imrān ibn Dāwir; we are not sure about him. Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/442), with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>54</sup>Al Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al Mawāhib al Ladunniyyah*, 3/19-20. The Muslims were the 80 or 100 who retreated a short distance but did not run away.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/442), with a *ḥasan isnād* going back to Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, one of those who witnessed the battle.

<sup>56</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1398; Ibn Hishām, *al Sīrah*, 2/444-5; 'Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/380-1; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 4/18.

<sup>57</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/121. Quotation is one of the *thulāthiyyāt* of the *Musnad*. Ibn Kathīr and al Safārīnī reported it according to the conditions of the two *Shaykhs*. (Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/348; al Safārīnī, *Sharḥ Thulāthiyyāt Musnad Aḥmad*, 2/286).

<sup>58</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 435, 53; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/260-1.

<sup>59</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. 3/1400-1; al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4/401-2.

began to rejoin him, repeating "*Labbayk, labbayk!* (Here I am!"). Even those who could not manage to turn their camels around and go back seized their weapons and left their camels behind.<sup>60</sup> The fighting intensified again and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "This is the time when the fight is raging hot."<sup>61</sup> He took some dust or pebbles and threw it in the faces of the disbelievers saying, "May these faces be deformed! By the Lord of Muḥammad, they have been defeated."<sup>62</sup>

But God did put His calm on the Apostle and on the Believers, and sent down forces which ye saw not: He punished the Unbelievers: thus doth He reward those without faith. (*Al Tawbah* 9:26)<sup>63</sup>

Hawāzin and Thaqīf did not resist for long during this second phase of the battle. They fled from the battlefield, and the Muslims chased them far from Ḥunayn. They left many dead and great wealth on the battlefield. They were unable to organize their retreat, so that they left behind many small bands of their army, and the Muslims were able to pick them off with arrows.<sup>64</sup> The losses during the retreat were greater than their losses during the battle itself. The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the Muslims to pursue and kill the fleeing enemy in order to weaken them so that they would not be able to gather and fight again.<sup>65</sup> Everyone who killed a *mushrik* was allowed to take his property.<sup>66</sup> However, the Prophet (ṢAAS) forbade the killing of women when he saw a woman who had been slain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "This one would not have been able to fight you."<sup>67</sup> Likewise, he forbade the killing of children when he heard that some of the Muslims were killing them. When they remarked, "But are they not the children of the *mushrikūn*?" He said, "And are not the best of you children of the *mushrikūn* also? By Him in Whose hand is soul of Muḥammad, every person who is born is in the natural unblemished state *fiṭrah* until he learns to speak."<sup>68</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3/1398, 260; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/444-5.

<sup>61</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/1398, 260.

<sup>62</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/1398, 260, 262.

<sup>63</sup>Al Shawkānī said, "It seems the reference is to all of those Believers who were present at the *Ghazwah*, both those who ran away and those who did not, because later they stood firm and fought, and won." (*Faṭḥ al Qadīr*, 2/348).

<sup>64</sup>Al Haythamī, *Kashf al Asṭār*, 2/346.

<sup>65</sup>Al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/181; al Haythamī, *Kashf al Asṭār*, 2/349, with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqah*.

<sup>66</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/65. He said, "This is a *ḥasan ḥadīth*. Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/130. He said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to Muslim's conditions but neither he nor al Bukhārī reported it." Al Dhahabī said nothing concerning it.

<sup>67</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/49-50.

<sup>68</sup>Ahmad, *Musnad*, 3/435, from two *isnāds*, al Ḥasan and al Aswad ibn Sarī who took part in the battle. Al Ḥasan did not hear it from al Aswad. The first *isnād* includes the '*an'anah* of Qatādah, who is *mudallis*. But the second *isnād* includes Qatādah, and it remains *munqaṭi'* between al Ḥasan and al Aswad.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not rebuke anyone who had fled. When Umm Sulaym al Anṣāriyyah suggested that he kill the *ṭulaqā'* because they had fled, he said, "Rather God will save (me the need)!" Umm Sulaym was carrying a dagger with her in order to defend herself during the battle.<sup>69</sup>

The number of Hawāzin killed during the battle was 72 from Banū Mālik of Thaḳīf alone, according to a report of Ibn Ishāq.<sup>70</sup> Only two of the confederates *aḥlāf* of Thaḳīf were killed, because they had hastened to leave the battlefield.<sup>71</sup> During the rout, 300 of Banū Mālik were killed in Awtās by Muslims under the leadership of al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām.<sup>72</sup> A number of others also perished in Awtās.<sup>73</sup> Abū Ṭalḥah alone killed 20 of them and took their possessions.<sup>74</sup> Hundreds of Banū Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiyah fell. The Banū Rī'āb, who were the most important branch of Hawāzin also suffered heavy losses.<sup>75</sup>

The losses of the Hawāzin and Thaḳīf were great in addition to the number who were wounded. The number of prisoners was 6,000, according to the report of Sa'īd ibn al Musayyab.<sup>76</sup> 'Urwah said that the 6,000 consisted of women and children together,<sup>77</sup> and this was also the opinion of Ibn Ishāq.<sup>78</sup> Al Zuhri described the large number of prisoners when he said, "The arbors of Makkah were filled with them."<sup>79</sup> The money came to 4,000 *awqiyah* of silver;<sup>80</sup> there were 24,000 camels,<sup>81</sup> and more than 40,000 sheep.<sup>82</sup> They also had horses, cattle, and donkeys, but the sources do not mention how many of these animals the Muslims seized as booty. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave orders that the booty should be kept in al Ja'rānah until he returned from the siege of al Ṭā'if.

<sup>69</sup>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, 3/1442.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Hisham, *al Sirah*, 2/450, without *isnād*. Al Ṭabarī reported it with the same *isnād*, which is *mu'dal*, because Ya'qūb ibn 'Utbah is one of the lesser *Ṭābi'ūn*. Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk*, 3/78.

<sup>71</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/450.

<sup>72</sup>Al Haythamī, *Kashf al Astār*, 2/346. Its *isnād* includes 'Alī ibn 'Āsim whom some deemed *thiqah* and others deemed *ḍa'īf*. Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar said that this *ḥadīth* was *ḥasan* (*Fath al Bārī*, 8/42). Al Bukhārī's report explained that Durayd ibn al Ṣimmah was killed at Awtās and that al Zubayr killed him. (Ṣaḥīḥ, 5/128)

<sup>73</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/457, without *isnād*.

<sup>74</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Al Sunan*, 2/65. He said, "This is a *ḥasan ḥadīth*." Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/130. He said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to Muslim's conditions but neither he nor al Bukhārī narrated it." Al Dhahabī said nothing about it.

<sup>75</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/455; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/152; al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 3/196.

<sup>76</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/38; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/155; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 10/102.

<sup>77</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3/82. Its *isnād* is *ḥasan*, going back to 'Urwah.

<sup>78</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/488, without *isnād*, but al Ṭabarī's report from Ibn Ishāq says that there were 6,000 camels and that there were a great number of women and children. (*Tārīkh*, 3/86).

<sup>79</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/347. (Ibn al Athīr, *al Nihāyah*, 3/207-8).

<sup>80</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/152, without *isnād*.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

The sacrifices made by the Muslims meant that four of them were martyred, whom Ibn Ishāq names,<sup>83</sup> and a number of them sustained wounds, including Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Awfā and Khālīd ibn al Walīd.<sup>84</sup>

The Muslims' slight loss of life may be attributed to the fact that the fighting in the first round, during which they fled, consisted mainly of exchanges of arrows. The physical combat during the second round was greater, but this time the Hawāzin and Thaqīf suffered adversity and most of the "losses" inflicted on the Muslims were wounds from which they recovered.

The fact that the army remained intact is indicated by the fact that they chased the defeated enemy far from Hunayn, and that they went on to besiege Ṭā'if immediately, without resting to rid themselves of the effects of this decisive battle. The battle was as important as the Great Battle of Badr, because the Muslims had put all their resources into the struggle, as had the Hawāzin. The Arabs and Bedouin had been waiting to see which way the battle would go before adopting their final stance on Islam. When the Hawāzin were defeated, delegations came to announce that they were entering the new religion.

### The pursuit of the fleeing enemy towards Nakhlah and Awtās

The Hawāzin were routed and scattered in the mountains and valleys. Mālik ibn 'Awf al Naṣrī entrenched himself in Ṭā'if, while others camped in Awtās, which is a valley between Ṭā'if and Hunayn. Banū Ghīrah of Thaqīf camped in Nakhlah, between Sibwāḥah and al Sharā'ī (Hunayn).<sup>85</sup>

The Muslim cavalry pursued the Hawāzin through Nakhlah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū 'Āmir al Ash'arī to Awtās, where he fought them and killed Durayd ibn al Ṣimmaḥ.<sup>86</sup> Then he was wounded with an arrow as he fought. He died after he had appointed Abū Mūsā al Ash'arī as his successor and asked him to convey his *salām* (greetings) to the Prophet (ṢAAS) whom he requested also to ask forgiveness for him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed for him when Abū Mūsā came to him with this news.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/459, without *isnād*.

<sup>84</sup>Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/126; al Ḥamīdī, *Musnad*, 2/398, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*; al Bazzār, (*Kaṣḥ al Asṭār li al Haythamī*, 2/346). Ibn Hajar deemed its *isnād ḥasan*, in *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/42, but he said that its *matn* was *munkar*. (*Mukhtaṣar Zawā'id Musnad al Bazzār*, pp. 249-250, No 816). I have collected the names of the wounded from these sources; no one source gives all the names.

<sup>85</sup>Ibn Ishāq, (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/453-4, without *isnād*). For definition of locations see, al Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al Manāsik*, Ḥamād al Jāsir's footnotes, pp. 346, 353, 471, 654.

<sup>86</sup>I have already indicated that al Zubayr ibn al 'Awwām killed Durayd ibn al Ṣimmaḥ after the battle of Hunayn, and this agrees with al Bukhārī's report because al Zubayr was in the army of Awtās.

<sup>87</sup>Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/128, 4/28, 8/69; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1943; Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād* (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/454); al Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3/915.

Among those who were taken prisoner was al Shaymā', the foster sister of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The *mursal* reports from Ibn Ishāq and others support one another to lend historical validity to this event. The Prophet (ṢAAS) treated her politely after he realized that what she said was true from the mark of a bite which he had given her when they were small children being cared for by their foster mother in Banū Sa'd.<sup>88</sup> Some reports which are not strong but which support one another to the extent that they may be relied upon as historical data indicate that his foster mother Ḥalimah al Sa'diyah also came to him and that he treated her politely and folded up his cloak so that she could sit on it.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup>Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/458), from some of Banū Sa'd. See also al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/56, from the *marāsīl* of Qatādah; its *isnād* also includes a weak narrator.

<sup>89</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al Bayān*, 10/101, from the *marāsīl* of Qatādah with a *ḥasan isnād*; Ibn 'Abd al Barr, *al Isti'āb*, 440; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 2/630, from the *Ḥadīth* of Abū al Ṭufayl, but its *isnād* includes some *majhūl* narrators. al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/618; 4/164. He said, "Its *isnād* is *ṣaḥīḥ*." Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/364. He thinks that it was his sister al Shayma' and not Ḥalimah, because she would have been in her nineties. Abū Dāwūd, *al Marāsīl*, with a *mu'dal isnād*. (Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*)



## ***Chapter 16***





## The Battle of Ṭā'if

After the Muslims had routed the Hawāzin and pursued them to Nakhlah and Awtās, they headed for the city of Ṭā'if, where Thaqīf and Mālik ibn 'Awf al Naṣrī had entrenched themselves. Ṭā'if had the advantage of a mountainous location, strong walls, and defensive fortresses. There was no way in apart from the gates which the Thaqīf had closed after they had brought in enough provisions to last a whole year and prepared the means of warfare to enable them to stand fast for a long period. The Muslims reached Ṭā'if on the twentieth of Shawwāl, and the army had not rested for long after the Battle of Ḥunayn and the incursions to Nakhlah and Awtās which had begun on the tenth of Shawwāl and lasted for over a week.

According to the report of 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah,<sup>1</sup> the Muslims besieged Ṭā'if for more than 10 days. Another report, also from 'Urwah, gives the time as being half a month.<sup>2</sup> Although all these reports are *mursal* and cannot be taken as evidence, 'Urwah and Mūsā are among the best and most reliable writers of *Maghāzī* literature and their reports concur with the historical sequence of events. Other reports claim that the siege lasted for 25 days,<sup>3</sup> a month<sup>4</sup> or 40 days,<sup>5</sup> but those suggestions do not fit into the context of other historical events, especially if we say that the siege lasted for 40 days. The Prophet (ṢAAS) reached Madīnah six days before the end of Dhū al Qā'dah,<sup>6</sup> after staying in al Ja'rānah for more than 10 nights; he then performed *umrah*. This would take at least 18 days after the siege on Ṭā'if was lifted.

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<sup>1</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/84; *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/47B. Both references are *mursal*. In al Bayhaqī's two *isnads*, there is a man whose biography I could not find. In 'Urwah's report he is Abū 'Alāthah Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid and in Mūsā ibn 'Utbah's report he is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Itāb.

<sup>2</sup>Al Ṭabarī, with a *ḥasan isnād* going back to 'Urwah; reference is *mursal* (*Tārīkh al Rusul wa al Mulūk*, 3/82).

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Ishāq (al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/46A). In *al Sirah*, he said, "Twenty-odd nights." (*Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 2/478-483).

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Ishāq in his *mursal* report from 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm and 'Abd Allāh ibn al Makram with a *ḥasan isnād* going back to them (al Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al Nubuwwah*, 3/48).

<sup>5</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/736; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/157.

After mentioning this *ḥadīth* from Imām Aḥmad, Ibn Kathīr explained that al Samīl, the narrator was confused about how long the siege lasted. (*al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/356).

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/500; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi'* *al Sirah*, 248. Ibn Ḥazm asserted that the siege lasted between 13 and 18 nights (op. cit., 243, 248).

The Muslims followed the old road to Ṭā'if which enters the city from the south. They passed through Nakhlah al Yamāniyyah, and Qarn al Manāzil, 80 kilometers from Makkah and 53 kilometers from al Ṭā'if. They then went through al Mulayḥ, one of the valleys of Ṭā'if, and Buḥrat al Rughā, 15 kilometers to the south of Ṭā'if.<sup>7</sup> This is a lengthy route when compared to the modern asphalt road between Makkah and Ṭā'if, which is 90 kilometers long. It is difficult to invade Ṭā'if from the north, because the complicated undulations of the terrain give it natural fortification. The Prophet (ṢAAS) also wanted to prevent reinforcements to the Hawāzin, entrenched east and south of Ṭā'if, from reaching the city.

The Muslims camped close to the fortress of Ṭā'if. They were within range of Thaḳīf's arrows, and some of them were struck so they moved their camp to a place where a mosque was later built.<sup>8</sup> The mosque is known today as Masjid 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās; in earlier times Ṭā'if lay to the southwest of the mosque.<sup>9</sup>

The fighting consisted of exchanges of arrows from a distance. The Muslims used a device made of thick wood, covered with leather and mounted on wheels, beneath which they were sheltered from the arrows until they reached the walls. Thaḳīf threw pieces of hot iron onto the *dabbābah* (a word now used for a tank, and also the name of the machine) which caught fire. The fighters came out from underneath it and were struck by arrows.<sup>10</sup> This was the first battle in which the Muslims used such devices to strike at a fortress. Jarsh al Yamāniyyah, whose ruins still stand on the heights of Wādī Bīshah<sup>11</sup> was famous for the manufacture of "tanks," catapults, and *qabūr* (war machines).<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ishāq mentions that two of the Thaḳīf leaders learned how to make these machines in Jarsh, in order to use them in the defense of Ṭā'if.<sup>13</sup>

As to how the Muslims obtained these war machines to strike the fortress walls with the catapults,<sup>14</sup> it was reported that Khālīd ibn Sa'īd ibn al 'Aṣ brought

<sup>7</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 2/478-483. For definition of the distances, see al Balādī, *Mu'jam al Ma'ālim al Jughrāfiyyah*, 254; *Naṣb al Ḥarb*, 39, 225; al Ḥarbi, *Kitāb al Manāsik*, Ḥamad al Jāsir's footnote, 353.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 2/478ff.

<sup>9</sup>Al Balādī, *Mu'jam al Ma'ālim al Jughrāfiyyah*, 213, 214, 316.

<sup>10</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 2/478-483. Concerning the "tank," see Maḥmūd Shīṭ Khattāb, *al Rasūl al Qā'id*, 254.

<sup>11</sup>Al Ḥarbi, *Kitāb al Manāsik*, footnotes by Ḥamad al Jāsir, p. 285.

<sup>12</sup>The catapult (*manjanīq*) consisted of a long, strong beam, mounted on a carriage with two wheels. At its head was a pulley with rope passed around it. At one end of the rope is a net shaped like a bag in which are placed stones or incendiary material. These are thrown by means of the beam and rope. Whatever projectiles have been placed in the net burst forth and fall on the walls, killing or burning whomever or whatever they land upon. (Maḥmūd Shīṭ Khattāb, *al Rasūl al Qā'id*)

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 2/278; al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2/353, Cairo ed.

<sup>14</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *al Marāsīl*, 37, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to Makḥūl, from his *marāsīl*, and another *isnād* going back to 'Ikrimah the *mawla* of Ibn 'Abbās, from his *marāsīl*. Imām al Shāfi'i took this event as evidence. (*al Umm*, 4/161)

two catapults and two "tanks" from Jarsh, while another report mentions that Salmān al Fārisī made the catapults himself.<sup>15</sup> It is clear that the Muslims did not have enough of these machines.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that the vineyards and palm trees around Ṭā'if should be burned, in order to put pressure on the Thaḳīf. They implored him not to burn them, so he did not do so after the attempt had weakened their morale.<sup>16</sup>

Likewise he called to the slaves of Ṭā'if, telling them that whoever came down out of the fortress to the Muslims would be free. Twenty-three slaves, including Abū Bakrah al Thaḳafī, came out and embraced Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) released them,<sup>17</sup> and did not return them to their former masters among the Thaḳīf even after they had embraced Islam.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the heavy shower of arrows which the Muslims rained down upon the Thaḳīf, seeking to attain a high rank in paradise promised to them by the Prophet (ṢAAS),<sup>19</sup> the Thaḳīf stood firm during the siege with pride and determination.

The Muslims received many wounds,<sup>20</sup> and 12 of them were martyred,<sup>21</sup> while only three of the *Mushrikūn* were killed because they were protected by the walls of the fortress.<sup>22</sup>

There is a *ṣaḥīḥ* report<sup>23</sup> which indicates that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not aim to conquer Ṭā'if when he besieged it; rather, he wished to weaken the Thaḳīf and show them that their land was within reach of the Muslims, who

<sup>15</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 3/927, 923. He reported that al Ṭufayl ibn 'Amr al Dawsī went to an idol called Dhū al Kaffayn, on the orders of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and destroyed it. Then he joined the Muslims in al Ṭā'if with 400 of his people, and they had a "tank" and a catapult.

<sup>16</sup>Al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/84, from the *marāsīl* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah and 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr. The *isnād* going back to both of them includes a narrator whose biography I could not find. Ibn Ishāq, from the *marāsīl* of 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb. See also al Shāfi'ī, *al Umm*, 7/323.

<sup>17</sup>Abd al Razzāq, *al Muṣannaf*, 5/301; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/46; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/158-9; al Ṭabarānī (al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 2/245. He said, "Its men are *ṣaḥīḥ*"). The fact that the slaves came down, and the number who did so, is proved in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (5/129), without mentioning that they embraced Islam.

<sup>18</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/485; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 2/159; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 1/236, 243, 248. It is based on al Ḥajjāj ibn Artah who is *ṣadūq* but is *mudallis* and commits 'an'anah.

<sup>19</sup>The *Ḥadīth*, "Whoever launches an arrow, he will have a certain level (*darajah*) in Jannah," was said in connection with the siege of al Ṭā'if, and is *ṣaḥīḥ*. Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/113, 384. Qatādah clearly declared *ṭaḥḍīth*, in al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/161).

<sup>20</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 8/20, 9/113.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Ishāq named them without *isnād*. *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/486-7.

<sup>22</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *al Marāsīl*, 48, from a *mursal ḥadīth* of 'Ikrimah; al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 3/926, 929-30.

<sup>23</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/128, 9/113.

could invade it whenever they wanted. The Prophet (ṢAAS) would not subject the Muslims to hardship or put them in a situation where so many of them were martyred, in order to conquer a fortified town which was surrounded by Islam on all sides, and which had no choice but to embrace Islam or to surrender sooner or later. He was concerned for the Thaḳīf as he had been concerned for the Quraysh earlier, because if they accepted Islam, they would be of great benefit to the religion since they were an intelligent people. He longed for them to become Muslim. He had been trying to spread the message among them since the time when the Muslims had been in Makkah, and he had prayed for their guidance after they had rejected his call and hurt him. During the siege of Ṭā'if, some of the companions asked him to curse the Thaḳīf, but he prayed for them in the words, "O Lord, guide Thaḳīf."<sup>24</sup>

There is nothing strange, then, in the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS) told his Companions to lift the siege. When at the beginning, he saw that they were eager to fight, he allowed them to take part in a few skirmishes, which proved to them that fighting was useless. When he suggested, once again, the idea of lifting the siege, they agreed with this wise decision.<sup>25</sup> They returned to al Ja'rānah, reaching it on the fifth of Dhū al Q'adah.

The huge booty from Ḥunayn was stored at al Ja'rānah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) delayed its distribution, apart from some silver which he shared out, until his return from the siege of Ṭā'if.<sup>26</sup> He waited for 10 more days,<sup>27</sup> hoping that the Hawāzin would come to him and declare their acceptance of Islam, but they kept him waiting, so he distributed the booty. The basic rule was that the *khums* (a fifth) should be taken from the booty, so that the Prophet (ṢAAS) might dispose of it in accordance with the Qur'ānic injunction:

And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to God, and to the Apostle, and to near relatives, orphans, the needy, and the wayfarer. . . (Al Anfāl 8:41)

The other four-fifths are for the warriors who took part in the fighting, to be divided among them equally: one share for a foot soldier, and three shares for a horseman, one share for him and two for his horse. This is the rule concerning booty which consists of movable wealth. As for the nonmovable

<sup>24</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5/385-6. He said, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*" Al Albānī explained that it would be *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim, were it not for the 'an'anah of Abū al Zubayr, who narrated it and who is *mudallis*. Al Ghazālī, *Fiqh al Sirah*, (432)

<sup>25</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/128, 9/113.

<sup>26</sup>Al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/121. He said, "This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim, although they did not narrate it." Al Dhahabī said nothing concerning it.

<sup>27</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/32). In one report it was narrated that the period was 13 nights.

wealth, the *Imām* (Head of State) has the choice of sharing it out or of keeping it and considering it the property of the State. The wealth which the Muslims obtain through fighting is the booty *ghanimah* which is divided as described above. The wealth which is obtained otherwise is called *fay'* and is to be disposed of in the general interest at the discretion of the ruler. The ruler may give gifts, at his discretion, to those fighters who have excelled in their efforts; these gifts may be given to the outstanding warriors either before or after the *khums* is taken from the booty, and the gifts may be taken from the *khums*, itself. The fighters are also permitted to take the provisions of every *Mushrik* they kill.

The booty was distributed in a way which some of the *Ṣaḥābah* could not understand at that time. This booty was given to the *ṭulaqā'* and *Bedouins* to reconcile their hearts to the truth, because they were new in Islam, and their faith was not yet very strong. One hundred camels were given to each of the following: 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn, one of the leaders of Ghatafān; al Aqrā ibn Ḥābis, one of the leaders of Tamīm; 'Alqamah ibn 'Alāthah, al 'Abbās ibn Mardas, Suhayl ibn 'Amr, Ḥakīm ibn Ḥazām, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, and Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, of the leaders of Quraysh.<sup>28</sup> According to Ibn Ishāq's list the number of men who were given 100 camels was 12. He mentioned five others who took fewer than 100 camels.<sup>29</sup> Ibn Hishām mentions the names of 29 men whose "hearts were to be reconciled to the truth."<sup>30</sup> Others give 23 names. The total number came to 52 men.

These gifts won the hearts of these leaders and their followers. They showed their satisfaction with the gifts and their desire to become Muslims increased. They all became better Muslims and exerted great efforts for the sake of Islam, serving it with their hearts and wealth, except for a few of them, such as 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn al Fazārī, who "remained a weak man," according to Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>31</sup>

Anas ibn Mālik said, "People used to embrace Islam for the sake of worldly things, but when they had embraced Islam, it became dearer to them than the world and everything in it."<sup>32</sup>

Some of those whose hearts had been reconciled to the truth expressed the effect which this had on them. Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me what he gave me, he was the person I

<sup>28</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2/737; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 3/246; Ibn Hajar said, "Its *isnād* is according to the conditions of Muslim," (*Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/50). *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 2/104: 4-5, 73: 5-7.

<sup>29</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 2/492-3, without *isnād*; al Zarqānī, *Shurḥ Maṣūhib al Laḥab*, 3/37; Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/48.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 2/494-6.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al Sīrah*, 248.

<sup>32</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1806.

hated the most, but he continued to give me gifts, until he became the person I loved the most.”<sup>33</sup>

Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah was one of those whose hearts had been reconciled to the truth. He used to love receiving gifts from the Prophet (ṢAAS), and every time he received something, he asked for more. The Prophet (ṢAAS) explained the Islamic attitude towards wealth and cautioned him. Afterwards, Ṣafwān even disliked taking his annual allowance from the Public Treasury *Bayt al Māl*.<sup>34</sup> This clearly shows the great change which had come about in the hearts of those who had been reconciled to the truth, their hearts were being filled with the significance of Islam as the days went by.

At first, some of the Muslims were upset because they had not been included among those who were given gifts. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had no alternative but to explain to them the wisdom behind it. He said, “By God, I give gifts to some men to the exclusion of others, and I love the one to whom I do not give gifts more than I love the one to whom I do give. I give to some people because of the restlessness and anxiety I can see in their hearts, and I refer other people to the contentment which God has put in their hearts.”<sup>35</sup>

He said: “I give to men who are still near to *kufṛ* (i.e., very new in Islam) in order to reconcile them to Islam.”<sup>36</sup>

He said: “I may give to a man although I love another more than him, because I am afraid that God may throw him into hell fire.”<sup>37</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) heard that the *Anṣār* had taken to heart the fact that they had received nothing of the gifts and that some of their young men had said, “If there is a crisis, we are called, but the booty is given to others.” And, “He gives to the Quraysh and leaves us, although our swords are still dripping with the blood of the Quraysh.” He gathered them together in a leather tent and said:

The people of Quraysh are still close to their pre-Islamic period of ignorance and to calamity, and I want to help them and reconcile their hearts. Won't you be pleased that the people take the worldly things and you take God's Messenger (ṢAAS) with you to your homes? If the people were to make their way through a valley and the *Anṣār* through a mountain pass, then I would take the *Anṣār's* mountain pass.”

When the wisdom behind this distribution of the booty became clear to the *Anṣār*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) commended their faith inasmuch as they were examples of sacrifice and devotion for the sake of Islam. They were least tempted by greed and most steadfast of all in the face of panic. When they realized

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 3/336. See also the *ḥadīth* in al Bukhārī, 2/104, 4/5, 73, 8/79. Muslim, 2/717.

<sup>35</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 2/10; 4/74; 9/125-6.

<sup>36</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/53, from a report of al Bukhārī.

<sup>37</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 1/11; 2/105-6; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/132-3; 2/732-3.

why the gifts had been withheld from them, they announced that they were satisfied<sup>38</sup> as long as it was done in the favor of Islam and in the interests of the faith for which they had sacrificed everything of their hearts and wealth which they held dear. How could they not be pleased when they realized that the Prophet (ṢAAS), their leader, preferred them above others, relied upon their faithfulness to the *ʿaqīdah*, and commended their faith? They were as good as he thought they were, and wept after hearing these words, and said, "We are satisfied with Apostle of God as our lot and portion."<sup>39</sup>

Some of the Bedouin who had participated in the Ḥunayn campaign showed great rudeness when the booty was shared out at al Ja'rānah. One of them<sup>40</sup> said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Be fair." He said, "If I were not fair, you would be miserable."<sup>41</sup> 'Umar ibn Khattāb became angry at the words of the Bedouin, and asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) for permission to kill him. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) forbade him and said, "I seek refuge in God from people saying that I kill my companions."<sup>42</sup>

There was nothing strange in the attitude of the Bedouin because most of them had come out seeking booty. They crowded around the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was distributing the booty of Ḥunayn, such that his cloak got caught on the branch of a tree. He said, "If I had booty equal to the amount of these *ʿaḏāh* (thorny trees which filled the place), I would share it out among you, and you would not find me to be a miser, a liar, or a coward."<sup>43</sup> Then he took a hair from the hump of a camel and said, "By God, I have nothing but a fifth of your booty even to this hair, and the fifth I will return to you." Then he told them that it was *ḥarām* to take anything from the booty until it had been distributed. An *Anṣārī* man came with a ball of camel hair which had come from the booty and threw it back.<sup>44</sup> When Karkarah, a freedman of the Messenger, died, he said, "He is in the fire." They inspected his belongings and found a cloak which he had concealed.<sup>45</sup>

The Prophet's (ṢAAS) instructions to protect the public wealth were clear. The attitude of the *Anṣārī* is indicative of piety (*taqwā*) and commitment to the orders of the Prophet (ṢAAS), even in the matter of a small amount of goods, which has no value, such as the ball of camel's hair which was returned.

<sup>38</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/74, 145; 5/26, 28, 130, 131; 7/133; 8/130; 9/106; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 2/733-6.

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 3/67, 76-7, from Ibn Ishāq with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihī*.

<sup>40</sup>Ibn Ishāq named him, in an *isnād* with a *ḥasan isnād*, as Dhū al Khuwaṣīrah al Tamīmī (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/496).

<sup>41</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/72; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/68; 12/291; 293.

<sup>42</sup>Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2, 740, cf. Ibn Ishāq's report (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/496). From what al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Hajar says, "It seems that the man complained about the sharing-out twice, once when the booty of Ḥunayn was shared out and again at the sharing out of some gold which 'Alī had sent straight after Ḥunayn." Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/69; 12/291, 193.

<sup>43</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/19, 75.

<sup>44</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihī* (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 2/488-490). al Ghazālī, *Fiḥ al Sīrah*, p. 426, with al Shaykh al Albānī's footnotes.

<sup>45</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 4/59.



The Prophet (ṢAAS) was patient with the rudeness of the Bedouin, their greed for wealth, and their concern for worldly gains. He was an example of an educator who was aware of their circumstances, of the influence their environment had on them, and the nature of their life, including the characteristic of toughness, rudeness and individuality of spirit. He dealt kindly with them, reassured them of their interests and dealt with them according to their own mentality. He was merciful toward them, and was their educator and reformer. The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not deal with the Bedouin as the kings of the period dealt with their subjects. The Bedouin used to bow or even prostrate themselves before rulers even when they remained hidden, and if the subjects addressed the king, they adhered to phrases of veneration and glorification such as a worshipper *ʿabd* uses before his Lord. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was like one of them; the Bedouin addressed him and scolded him and he was not hidden from them at all. The *Ṣahābah* were very polite in his presence and addressed him in soft voices. They harbored great love for him in their hearts. The Qurʾān rebuked the rudeness, impoliteness and loud voices of the Bedouin, and their insolence in the way they addressed the Prophet (ṢAAS).<sup>46</sup>

After the booty had been distributed, a delegation from the Hawāzin came to declare their Islam. They asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) to return the wealth and captives to them. He gave them the choice between the wealth and the captives, and they chose the captives.<sup>47</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) addressed the Believers, and said:

These brothers of yours have come to us in repentance, and I wanted to return the captives to them. So whoever of you wishes to give up his prisoners freely, then let him do so, and whoever wishes to keep his share until we give him something from the first booty which God has bestowed upon us, then let him do so."

The people said:

"We will freely give them up, O Messenger of God." The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied: "I cannot tell who of you is giving permission and who is not. Go back and send your leaders to discuss the matter with us." The people went back and spoke to their leaders who then returned to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him that they agreed and would give the prisoners back freely.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>See *Sūrat al Tawbah*, 9:97, 98.

<sup>47</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 3/165.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 3/87.

It should be noted that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to return the prisoners to the Hawāzin with the agreement of the warriors. The booty was their right and he could not give it up except with their consent. He promised those who did not agree that he would compensate them for losing these prisoners. He made sure of this through the leaders who were responsible for the soldiers. Most of the soldiers agreed to give up the prisoners, except for al 'Aqra' ibn Ḥābis, who spoke on behalf of the whole tribe of Tamīm, and 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn, who spoke on behalf of the tribe of Fazārah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) promised to compensate for their prisoners.<sup>49</sup> This indicates that the delegation of the Hawāzin came after the distribution of the wealth and captives, and not before, as Ibn Ishāq's report suggests.<sup>50</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was happy that the Hawāzin had embraced Islam. He asked them about their leader Mālik ibn 'Awf al Naṣrī, and they told him that he was with the Thaqīf in Ṭā'if. The Prophet (ṢAAS) promised to return Mālik's family and wealth to him and to give him a gift of 100 camels if he came to him as a Muslim. Malik came to him as a Muslim, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave him the camels and appointed him as *Amīr* over his own people and some other neighboring tribes.

Mālik became a good Muslim. He fought the Thaqīf in Ṭā'if, and put pressure on them.<sup>51</sup> Their leaders thought of putting an end to this predicament after Islam had surrounded Ṭā'if on all sides and they were unable to move or carry on any trade. Some of their leaders were inclined toward Islam, such as 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al Thaqafī, who hurried to join the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he was on his way to Madīnah, after distributing the booty and performing *Umrah* from al Ja'rānah. He met the Prophet (ṢAAS) before he reached Madīnah and declared his acceptance of Islam. He then returned to Ṭā'if. He was one of the most popular leaders of the Thaqīf; he invited them to Islam and made the call to prayer *adhān* from the top of his house. Some of the Thaqīf fired arrows at him and struck him. He asked his people to bury him with the Muslims who had been martyred during the siege of Ṭā'if.<sup>52</sup>

The leaders of the Thaqīf felt the seriousness of their situation and tried to secure themselves and their wealth. In Ramaḍān of the ninth year after the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned from Tabūk, the Thaqīf sent a delegation under the leadership of 'Abd Yā Layl ibn 'Amr, with three men from Banū Mālik, and two of their allies. Al Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah met them in Wādī Qanāh,

<sup>49</sup>Ibn Hishām, 2/488-90, 492, with an *isnād* which is *ḥasan li dhātihī*, in which Ibn Ishāq clearly declared *tahdīth*. See also Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 2/184; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 7/359; al Nisā'ī, *Sunan*, 6/220; al Haythamī, *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 6/187-8.

<sup>50</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 4/354-5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Barī*, 8/33-4.

<sup>51</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/490-2.

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Ishāq, without *isnād* (*Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 2/537-8). Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah differs with him and says that 'Urwah's embracing Islam happened as late as Abū Bakr's *Ḥajj* with the people, 9 AH. Ibn Kathīr thinks that Ibn Ishāq's report is more likely. *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/29.

a little to the north of Madīnah. He told Abū Bakr of their arrival, who rushed to tell the Prophet (ṢAAS) the good news. Al Mughīrah taught them the Islamic greeting and the etiquette they should observe when addressing the Prophet (ṢAAS). The Prophet (ṢAAS) let them stay in a tent in the Mosque, where they could listen to the Qurʾān and watch the Muslims praying. The delegation declared their acceptance of Islam, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) drew up a treaty with them.<sup>53</sup> They asked the Prophet to delay destroying al Lāt for three years, because they feared the wrath of their people, but he refused. However, he excused them from doing so themselves, and sent Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and al Mughīrah ibn Shuʿbah to destroy it. They also asked him to excuse them from praying, because they thought it was demeaning as it included bowing and prostrating to God Almighty as if they did the same before al Lāt and other idols and stones! The Prophet (ṢAAS) refused to do so, and said,

<sup>53</sup>Abū ʿUbayd, in *al Amwāl*, 247, and Ibn Zanjawayh, in *al Amwāl*, 442. Both mentioned a long letter and said that it was the letter of the Prophet to Thaḳīf. The account is from the *mursal* of ʿUrwah ibn al Zubayr, and there is some weakness in its *isnād* because of Ibn Laḥīʾah.

Ibn Ishāq mentions, without *isnād*, the part of the letter which deals with the *taḥrīm* of Wādī Wajj (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 4/200). Al Imām Aḥmad reported it in *al Musnad*, 1/165; and Abū Dāwūd reported it in his *Sunan* as a *ḥadīth* from al Zubayr ibn al ʿAwwām, concerning the *taḥrīm* of Wādī Wajj. Al Zubayr explained that the *taḥrīm* took place before the siege of al Tāʾif. Al Bukhārī explained that Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Insān al Tāʾifī was the only one who reported it. Abū Hātim stated, "He is not strong, and his *ḥadīth* should be accepted with caution." Ibn Hibbān mentioned him among the *thiqāt* (*Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*, 9/248). In *al Taqrīb*, al Ḥāfiz ibn Hajar said, "He is lenient." Al Bukhārī said, from his father, "His *ḥadīth* are not *ṣaḥīḥ*," Ibn Hibbān mentioned him among the *thiqāt*, and said, "He used to make mistakes." Al Dhahabī commented on this, and said, "Al Ḥāfiz would only say this concerning a narrator who had reported many *ḥadīth*, ʿAbd Allāh has only this *ḥadīth*. If he made a mistake in it, then where did he do something correctly?" (*Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*, 4/149), *al Khilaf* al ʿIlal mentions that Aḥmad considered him *ḍaʿīf*. Al Shāfiʿi considered his *ḥadīth* *ṣaḥīḥ* and used it as evidence. (Al Dhahabī, *Mizān al ʿitidāl*) Al Shaykh Aḥmad Shākir considered this *ḥadīth* *ṣaḥīḥ* (*al Musnad*, *ḥadīth* no. 276), but he may be lenient in deciding whether a *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, and probably relied on the fact that Imām al Shāfiʿi had considered the *ḥadīth* to be *ṣaḥīḥ*. It is known that the Imāms al Bukhārī, Aḥmad and Abū Hātim are more specialized in *ḥadīth* than al Imām al Shāfiʿi. Despite his great ability, the *ḥadīth* is not *ṣaḥīḥ*. Also, al Imām al Shāfiʿi relied on this *ḥadīth* in his old *madhhab* (*al qadīm*), and did not do so in his new *madhhab* (*al jadīd*). Rather, his opinion agreed with that of the majority, that Wajj was not considered a sanctuary (*ḥaram*). (Al Zarqānī, *Sharḥ al Mawāhib al Ladunīyah*, 4/10) I think he realized that the *ḥadīth* was weak.

Al Khaṭṭābī said: "I cannot see any reason for his declaring Wajj a sanctuary, unless it was to offer protection and some form of benefit to the Muslims. It is possible that this *taḥrīm* was for a specific and limited time period, then was abrogated." Al Khaṭṭābī explains that during the siege of al Tāʾif, the Muslims benefited from its trees, and game, and the conveniences of the places, thus indicating that it was not *ḥaram*. (*Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abū Dāwūd li al Mundhirī*, 2/442)

This long footnote has been included lest researchers rely upon the letter of the Prophet in explaining *sharʿī* politics, especially since some modern researchers have relied upon this document and have thought that the Prophet compromised with the Thaḳīf in the *taḥrīm* of Wajj because they venerated it. ʿAwn al Sharīf Qāsim, *Nashāt al Dawlah al Islāmīyah* [The Emergence of the Islamic State], 137.

"There is no good in a religion which has no bowing *rukū*."<sup>54</sup> They asked him to make it a condition that they be excused from *zakāh* and *jihād*, and he agreed. Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh heard him say, "They will give *ṣadaqah* and fight in *jihād* when they embrace Islam."<sup>55</sup> They also asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) to excuse them from making *wuḍū*, (because their country was cold), to allow them to make and drink the intoxicating *nabīdh*, and to return Abū Bakrah al Thaqafī, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) refused all these requests.<sup>56</sup>

'Uthmān ibn Abū al 'Āṣ was the keenest of them to learn the Qur'ān and understand the religion. The Prophet (ṢAAS) appointed him as *Amīr* over Ṭā'if, although he was the youngest of them.<sup>57</sup>

After the delegation of Thaqif had embraced Islam, they asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) many questions about the religion. They even asked the *Ṣaḥābah* how the Qur'ān was divided into portions *Aḥzāb*. They asked, "How do you divide the Qur'ān?" The *Ṣaḥābah* answered, "The first *ḥizb* has three *Sūrah*s, the second has five, the third has seven, the fourth has 11, the fifth has 13, and the sixth is called *Hizb al Mufaṣṣal*; it goes from *Sūrat Qāf* to the end."<sup>58</sup> This is the same order of the Qur'ān that we know today. The delegation was influenced by its meeting with the Prophet (ṢAAS), by mixing with the *Ṣaḥābah* and by the conversations which they had with the Muslims so much so that they even fasted the remaining days of Ramaḍān.<sup>59</sup>

The delegation stayed in Madīnah for 15 days, then returned to Ṭā'if. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and al Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah al Thaqafī went with them to destroy al Lāt. Ibn Ishāq describes the destruction of al Lāt and the gathering of the Thaqafī women around it. They wept until al Mughīrah had completely destroyed it and taken its gold and onyx.<sup>60</sup> The people of Ṭā'if thought that al Lāt would avenge herself. Al Mughīrah made fun of them: he threw down his pickax and ran away. The people said, "The Lady has avenged herself!"

<sup>54</sup>Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, 4/538-40, with a *muḍal isnād*. al Ghazālī, *Fiqh al Sirah*, with footnotes by al Albānī, p. 450.

<sup>55</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 2/146. Its *isnād* is *ḥasan li dhātihi*.

<sup>56</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/168. Al Haythamī said, "Its men are *thiqah*." *Majma' al Zawā'id*, 4/245.

<sup>57</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/218; Ibn Mājah, 1/316.

See also, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/342, where he indicates that 'Uthmān ibn Abū al 'Āṣ was appointed as *Amīr*.

<sup>58</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4/9, 343; Abū Dāwūd, *al Sunan*, 1/321-2; Ibn Mājah, *al Sunan*, 1/427-8. The *ḥadīth* relied on 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al Raḥmān al Ṭā'ifī, from 'Uthmān ibn 'Abd Allāh. It needs *mutāba'āt* to strengthen it to the degree of *ḥasan* because al Ṭā'ifī is *ṣadīq* but makes mistakes and becomes confused, and 'Uthmān is considered *maqbul* by Ibn Ḥajar and *ṣadīq* by al Dhahabī. Ibn Ḥajar, *al Taqrib*, 2/11; *Mizān al 'Iṭidāl*, 3/43).

<sup>59</sup>Ibn Hishām, *al Sirah*, 2/540-1. Its *isnād* includes 'Isā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik, who Ibn Ḥajar said was *maqbul* (*Taqrib*, 2/99).

<sup>60</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 2/541-2, from Ibn Ishāq without *isnād*. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/33-4, from Mūsā Ibn 'Uqbah without *isnād*.

Al Mughīrah laughed and exhorted them to believe in God alone. He came back and completed the destruction of the idol. Thus was destroyed the legend of al Lāt, which had been worshipped for so long instead of God.

Below is an explanation of the most important laws which were derived from the events of this campaign. Explaining the dates of legislation is of great benefit in learning about the question of the abrogation of Qur'ānic verses (*al nāsikh wa al mansūkh*), because it enables one to decide which report is the more plausible when there is some contradiction. The reasons behind the laws can be explained by knowing the circumstances of their legislation.

### Laws derived from the campaigns of Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if

1. The revelation of the *āyah*, "Also (prohibited are) women already married except those whom your right hands possess," (*Al Nisā* 4:24) which was revealed on the day of Awṭās, to explain the law concerning married female captives. Their capture legally separates them from their husbands. The verse explains that it was permissible to have intercourse with them after they had completed their *iddah* either by giving birth if they were pregnant, or by menstruating if they were not pregnant.<sup>61</sup>

2. The prohibition of effeminate men entering upon nonrelated women. That had been allowed because the effeminate man had no desire for women. The reason for this prohibition was that just before the siege of Ṭā'if, the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard one of the effeminate men describing Bādiyah bint Ghaylān al Thaqaḥī. This prohibition was a precaution in the interests of Islamic society.<sup>62</sup>

3. The prohibition of intentionally killing women, children, old men, and hired laborers, who do not take part in the fighting against the Muslims.<sup>63</sup>

4. The carrying out of prescribed *ḥadd* punishment even in non-Muslim territory *Dār al Ḥarb* as the Prophet (ṢAAS) did with a wine drinker on the day of Ḥunayn.<sup>64</sup>

5. The permissibility of seeking help from the *Mushrikūn*, as the Prophet (ṢAAS) did when he borrowed arms from Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, and gave

<sup>61</sup>For *Sabab al Nuzūl*, see *Sharḥ al Nawawī 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 3/637. al Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al Ahwadhī*, 4/282; 'Avn al Ma'būd, 6/191, 193; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 1/473.

<sup>62</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 5/128; 7/33, 137. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

<sup>63</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/488, with a *ḥasan isnād* (*Irwā' al Ghalīl*, 5/35). al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 2/123. al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/130. Al Ḥākim deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ* and al Dhahabī agreed with him. See also al Albānī, *Irwā' al Ghalīl*, 5/35-6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 6/147-8.

<sup>64</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 12/196-7; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/350; al Dāraquṭnī, *Sunan*, 3/157-8; al Shawkānī, *Nayl al Awṭār*, 7/145. Its *isnād* includes 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Azhar who is *maqbul* (*Taqrīb*, 1/427).

him a guarantee that he would return them. Seeking help from the *Mushrikūn* may only be done on the condition that one trusts them, and that the *Mushrikūn* should not take over the battle and give it their own orientation because the dictates of Islam are superior.<sup>65</sup>

6. The permissibility of giving some of the booty to those whose hearts are to be reconciled to the truth, if the Head of State (*Imām*) thinks that this will help to bring them into Islam or prevent them from harming the Muslims. Anas ibn Mālik said, "People used to embrace Islam for the sake of worldly things, but when they had embraced Islam, it became dearer to them than the world and everything in it."<sup>66</sup>

7. The legislation of performing *ʿUmrah* from al Jaʿrānah.

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<sup>65</sup>Ibn al Qayyim, *Zād al Maʿād*, 3/479; al Qurtubī, *Al Jāmiʿ li Ahkām al Qurʾān*, 8/97; Ibn Ḥajar, *al Talkhīs al Ḥabīr*, 4/100-101. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned: "It is more likely that seeking help from the *Mushrikūn* was forbidden, then it was allowed; al Shāfiʿi suggested that."

<sup>66</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/1806.



## *Chapter 17*





## The Campaign of Tabūk

The Tabūk campaign took place in Rajab, in the summer of the ninth year AH, almost six months after the siege of Ṭā'if.<sup>1</sup> The historians, as is their custom, tried to find a direct cause for this campaign. Ibn Sa'd mentioned that Heraclius had gathered troops of Byzantines and his client Arab tribes, and that the Muslims heard this news and set out for Tabūk.<sup>2</sup> Al Yāqūbī mentions that revenge for Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib was the direct cause for the campaign.<sup>3</sup> The accurate version, however, is that this campaign was a natural response to the compulsory duties of *jihād*. Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Kathīr indicated this when he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) resolved to fight the Byzantines because they were nearest to him (geographically) and because of all people they deserved to be invited to the Truth on account of their closeness to Islam and the Muslims. God Almighty said:

O ye who believe! Fight the unbelievers who gird you about, and let them find firmness in you: and know that God is with those who fear Him. (*Al Tawbah* 9:123)<sup>4</sup>

It is a falsehood to say that in order to trick the Muslims into leaving Madīnah and confronting the Byzantines, the Jews advised the Muslims to go to Tabūk, the land where the dead would be gathered on the Day of Resurrection, and the land of the Prophets. It is also false to say that the verse, "...their purpose was to scare thee off the land, in order to expel thee..." (*Al Isrā'* 17:76) was revealed in this regard. These statements are *mursal* and *ḍa'if* and are refuted by the fact that this verse was revealed in Makkah.<sup>5</sup> This campaign is distinguished from the earlier one of Mu'tah by the fact that it was directed against the Byzantines and the Christian Arabs, while the other campaign and expedition had been directed against the Jews and the *Mushrik* Arab tribes.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 8/84. What should indicate that it was six months after the siege of al Ṭā'if is mentioned in a report of Muḥammad ibn 'A'idh, the author of *al Maghāzī*, with a weak *isnād* from 'Uthmān ibn 'Atā' al Khurāsānī and his father. It does not greatly contradict the known fact that it happened in Rajab and that the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Madīnah after returning from the siege of al Ṭā'if in Dhū al Ḥijjah.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/165.

<sup>3</sup>Al Yāqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2/67.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 2/5. See also al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 11/71.

<sup>5</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, 5/210-211. The source of the report concerning this reason for the revelation (*sabab al nuzūl*) is mentioned in Ibn 'Asākir's *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 1/167-8. Its *isnād* includes Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al Jabbār al 'Atfīdī, who is *ḍa'if*.

Christianity had lost its spirit and its original teachings and had become divided into many sects. The root of their differences lay in their belief in Jesus (peace be upon him). Most of them believed in the three "persons" of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Spirit), and the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus. Some of the Christians thought that Jesus had only one nature, the divine; these were the Jacobites (Monophysites) in Syria and Egypt. They held conferences concerning this matter, and Heraclius tried to reconcile the religious sects in order to preserve the unity of the Roman Empire, but in vain. The Empire oppressed the Jacobite (Monophysite) inhabitants of Syria and Egypt resulting in the expulsion of some of the great religious men of Egypt and the fleeing of others.

The corruption was not limited to religious belief. Indeed, it extended to all spheres of life. The increasingly heavy taxes on the people, the class spirit which divided people and gave them a status based on the class in which they happened to have been born, all this had spread throughout the land, so that there was no longer any basic difference between the life of a Christian and the life of a polytheist. God Almighty ordered the Muslims to engage the people of the Book in *jihād* just as He ordered them to engage the *Mushrikūn*. However, Christians were allowed to keep their religion if they came under the political control of the Muslims and paid the military exemption tax to them. However, no *jizyah* would be accepted from the idolaters, who had no choice but to enter Islam if they wanted to be safe from fighting:

Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, (even if they are) of the people of the Book, until they pay the *jizyah* with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued. (*Al Tawbah* 9:29)

After destroying idolatry in the Arabian Peninsula, and expelling the Jewish People of the Book, the Muslims entered a new phase, i.e., confronting the Christian People of the Book.<sup>6</sup> This change suited Islam's nature and aims in life, and the Tabūk campaign is considered as evidence of this.

Tabūk lies to the north of the Ḥijāz, 778 kilometers from Madīnah by the modern road. It was part of the territory which was under the control of Byzantines at that time. The Prophet (ṢAAS) called it Tabūk,<sup>7</sup> but it was also known as the Campaign of Hardship (*Ghazwat al 'Usrah*), because of the economic difficulties which the Muslims suffered during the campaign.<sup>8</sup> This is also indicated in the following Qur'ānic verse:

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<sup>6</sup>*Tafsīr al Ṭabarī*, 11/72, where he clarifies the *tafsīr* of 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam al 'Adwī (d. 182 A.H.), a great commentator, but he is considered *ḍa'īf* according to the *muhaddithūn*; *Taqrīb*, 1/480.

<sup>7</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Kitāb al Faḍā'il*, 7/60-61.

<sup>8</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al Tawḥīd*, 9/129 and other passages; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 5/82. Also see: *Fath al Bārī*, 8/84; on the economic difficulties, see also *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* 1/26-27, 41-42; al Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1/221-223; al Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, 8/279.

"God turned with favor to the Prophet, the *Muhājirs* and the *Anṣār*, who followed Him in a time of distress". (*Al Tawbah* 9:117)

Both Qatādah and Mujāhid,<sup>9</sup> who are the leading scholars of *tafsīr* using the reports, explained the report that "Two men would share one date between them, and that a group of men would take one date, one of them would suck it, then drink some water, then another would suck it, and drink some water."<sup>10</sup> It is not known whether this economic crisis was due to the timing of the campaign, before the dates had been harvested and sold, or whether it was due to other more indirect factors.<sup>11</sup>

### The contributors to the Army of Tabūk

The Prophet (ṢAAS) urged the Muslims to spend (on the army), and promised them a great reward from God. Both rich and poor *Ṣaḥābah* hastened to spend their wealth for this purpose. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān spent the most on the army of Tabūk. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Whoever equips the army of hardship, then paradise is his," so 'Uthmān equipped them,<sup>12</sup> bringing one thousand dinars and pouring them into the Prophet's (ṢAAS) lap. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Nothing that Ibn 'Affān does after today will harm him," and repeated this several times.<sup>13</sup> Some other reports (which are weak) have been narrated which indicate that 'Uthmān offered other forms of help to the army, such as camels with their equipment.<sup>14</sup> There is no reason to question 'Uthmān's doing this, because it has been established that the *Ṣaḥābah* acknowledged 'Uthmān's equipping of the army. They were 30,000 warriors, so there is no doubt that he spent an enormous amount in equipping them.

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\*The two *isnāds* are *munqatī'*, because Qatādah and Mujāhid did not witness that themselves. The *isnād* going back to Qatādah is *ṣaḥīḥ*; but the *isnād* going back to Mujāhid is weak because of Sanid ibn Dāwūd al Maṣīṣi.

<sup>9</sup>Al Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, 11/55.

<sup>10</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 3/343-4.

<sup>11</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al Waṣāyā*, 4/11; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 5/306.

<sup>12</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 5/53; al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al Manāqib*, 13/154-5, who stated that this *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb* in this *isnād* although they did not report it. Al Dhahabī agreed that it was *ṣaḥīḥ*, but its narrators were lenient in judging it to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, because its *isnād* includes Kathir ibn Abū Kathir, the *mawla* of Ibn Samrah, whom al Ḥāfiẓ judged, in *al Taqrīb*, to be *maqbul* (2/133). Al 'Ijli and Ibn Ḥibbān deemed him to be *thiqah*, and they were lenient. *Mizān al 'itidāl*, 3/410. It appears that the *ḥadīth* is valid as evidence and is strengthened by others to the degree of *ḥasan*.

<sup>13</sup>Al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, (*Kitāb al Manāqib*, 13/153-4). He said, "This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb* in this *isnād*, and we only know it from the *ḥadīth* of al Sakan ibn al Mughirah." Al Ḥakim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/102. He deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ*, and al Dhahabī agreed with him. But it includes Farqad Abū Ṭalḥah who is *majhūl al 'ayn* (not known at all). (*Tahdhīb al Tahdhīb*, 8/264). Thus their judging it to be *ṣaḥīḥ* is not acceptable.

Al Ṭabarī mentions with many *isnāds* that are not totally free from weakness, but which support one another to make the report strong from a historical point of view, that 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf spent two hundred *dirhams* (half his wealth) on equipping the army.<sup>15</sup>

The poorer Muslims could find only modest amounts to give. They felt rather embarrassed because the hypocrites *Munāfiqūn* mocked them. Khaythamah al Anṣārī brought a *ṣā'* (a measure) of dates, and the hypocrites ridiculed him.<sup>16</sup> 'Aqīl brought half a *ṣā'* of dates and the hypocrites said, "God does not need this man's *ṣadaqah*! The other one only did it to show off." The following Qur'ānic verse was revealed:

[It is these hypocrites] who find fault with such of the believers as give for the sake of God more than they are duty-bound to give, as well as with such as find nothing [to give] beyond [the meagre fruits of] their toil, and who scoff at them [all].

God will cause their scoffing to rebound on themselves, and grievous suffering awaits them. ( *Al Tawbah* 9:79)<sup>17</sup>

The hypocrites accused the rich of showing off and mocked the poverty of the poor.

### The attitude of the hypocrites during the campaign of Tabūk

The matter of hypocrisy came to light during this campaign. The hypocrites began a propaganda war when mobilization was announced. They discouraged the people, saying, "Don't go forth in the heat." It was very hot and people were seeking shade under the trees. The hypocrites took advantage of the heat to spread discouragement. Some of them suggested to the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he permit them to stay behind, giving false excuses, until God blamed His Prophet for giving them this permission:

God give thee grace! Why did thou grant them exemption until those who told the truth were seen by thee in a clear light, and thou hadst proved the liars? ( *Al Tawbah* 9:43)<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/191-6. Reference includes al Muthannā ibn Ibrāhīm al Amīlī, who is unknown, and 'Umar ibn Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf. Al Shaykh Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir drew attention to the fact that 'Umar was dropped from the *isnād*, and it became *da'īf*. Cf. also, *ibid.*, 10/197, where the *isnād* includes Muḥammad ibn Rajā' Abū Sahl al 'Ibadānī, who is not known, and 'Amir ibn Yassāf, who is *da'īf*. Also, *ibid.*, 10/194-5. Citation is from a chain of weak 'Awfīs.

*Ibid.*, 10/195. This is from the *marāsīl* of Mujāhid, and its *isnād* includes 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Najīh, who is *mudallis* and committed *'an'anah* from Mujāhid.

*Ibid.*, 10/195. citation is from the *mursal* of Qatādah with two *ṣaḥīḥ isnāds* going back to him.

<sup>16</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī, Kitāb al Tafsīr*, 6/56; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barrī*, 8/330.

<sup>17</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/197, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 10/142, with a *ṣaḥīḥ mursal isnād* going back to Mujāhid.

The Qur'ān described the hypocrites of the Bedouin as being worse in unbelief and hypocrisy than the *Munāfiqūn* of Madīnah, because the Bedouin hearts were harder and they had less knowledge of the example of the Prophet and the laws of Islam.

The Arabs of the desert are the worst in unbelief and hypocrisy, and most fitted to be in ignorance of the command which God hath sent down to His Apostle. (*Al Tawbah* 9:97)

Hypocrisy was not confined to Madīnah; it spread to the desert too.

Certain of the desert Arabs round about you are hypocrites as well as (desert Arabs) among the Madīnans: they are obstinate in hypocrisy: thou knowest them not: We know them. (*Al Tawbah* 9:101)

The Qur'ān forbade accepting the excuses of the hypocrites and believing them:

They will present their excuses to you when ye return to them. Say thou: "Present no excuses: we shall not believe you: God hath already informed us of the true state of matters concerning you: it is your actions that God and His Apostle will observe: in the end will ye be brought back to Him who knoweth what is hidden and what is open: then will He show you the truth of all that ye did. (*Al Tawbah* 9:94)

The Qur'ān described them as an "abomination." (9:95) Barriers were thus established between the believers and the hypocrites and dealings with the latter were no longer based on nonconfrontation. Now differentiation between Muslims and hypocrites became the basis for dealing with them. The Qur'ān disclosed their faults publicly. The Prophet (ṢAAS) stopped praying in the Mosque of al Ḍirār that they had built, and burned it down. He also stopped praying over their dead, although he had prayed over 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl when he died after the Muslims came back from Tabūk. Allah forbade him to do so: "Nor do thou ever pray for any of them that dies, nor stand at his grave." (*Al Tawbah* 9:84).<sup>19</sup>

In order to hold meetings and plan ways in which they could harm the Muslims, the hypocrites built a mosque just before the campaign of Tabūk. They claimed that they were building it to benefit the Muslims by making more space for them. They wanted to split the believers who met in the Prophet's (ṢAAS) mosque in Madīnah, by diverting some of them to pray in their mosque. The hypocrites asked the Messenger to pray in their mosque in order to mislead the people, but the Qur'ān forbade him to do so, and called it *Masjid al Dirāran* (a mosque to create mischief):

<sup>19</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 8/333; 3/214, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

And there are those who put up a mosque by way of mischief and infidelity to disunite the Believers and in preparation for one who warred against God and His Apostle aforetime. They will indeed swear that their intention is nothing but good; but God doth declare that they are certainly liars. Never stand thou forth therein. There is a mosque whose foundation was laid from the first day on piety; it is more worthy of thy standing forth (for prayer) therein. In it are men who love to be purified, and God loveth those who make themselves pure. (*Al Tawbah* 9:107-8)

Most of the hypocrites stayed behind and did not go out on the campaign of Tabūk. But some of them joined the army to take the opportunity to make plots and spread rumors.

Al Wāqidi is the only scholar who says that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent messengers to mobilize the Arab tribes to go out to Tabūk.<sup>20</sup> However, this agrees with the general mobilization which was announced. Undoubtedly the Arab tribes were mobilized, as indicated in *Sūrat al Tawbah*.

Within Madīnah, mobilization was announced as the Qur'ān mentioned:

O ye who believe! What is the matter with you, that, when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of God, ye cling heavily to the earth? Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. (*Al Tawbah* 9:38)

Mujāhid mentioned that this verse was revealed concerning the campaign of Tabūk, when they were being asked to mobilize, when the dates were being harvested; when the fruit was ripe and people were seeking shade in the heat, and it was difficult for them to go out.<sup>21</sup> According to Mujāhid, the Qur'ān asked them all young and old, rich and poor, to go forth:

Go ye forth, (whether equipped) lightly or heavily, and strive and struggle, with your goods and your persons, in the cause of God. That is best for you, if ye (but) knew. (*Al Tawbah* 9:41)

When some of them asked for permission to stay behind, the following verse was revealed concerning them:

If there had been immediate gain (in sight), and the journey easy, they would (all) without doubt have followed thee, but the distance was long, (and weighed) on them. They would indeed swear by God, "If we only could, we should certainly have come out with you." They would destroy their own souls; for God doth know that they are certainly lying." (*Al Tawbah* 9:42)

<sup>20</sup>Al Wāqidi, *al Maghāzī*, 13/990. Those who mentioned it after him relied upon his report. Al Wāqidi cannot be taken as evidence if he is the only one who mentions something. There was no alternative to mobilizing the tribes outside Madīnah, just as the *Ṣaḥābah* within Madīnah were mobilized.

<sup>21</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/133. The men of his *isnād* going back to Mujāhid are *thiqah*, but it is *mursal*, and includes the 'an'anah of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Najīḥ al Makkī, who is *mudallis*.

The unwillingness to participate in the campaign stemmed partly from the fact that Tabūk was far from Madīnah, the journey there would be difficult, and the booty would not be easily gained.<sup>22</sup> The Bedouin, hypocrites and a few of the companions stayed behind. All of these companions had valid excuses except for three who had no excuse for not taking part in this campaign.

### The believers responded quickly to the call for *jihād*

Because of the length of the journey and the great numbers of the army, the Prophet (ṢAAS) disclosed his destination to the Muslims, so that they might prepare themselves. This differed from his normal practice at times of war, when he would not announce his destination lest the news alert the enemy.

The believers were eager to go out on this campaign. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib to stay behind with his family, he said, "O Messenger of God, are you making me stay behind with the women and children?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said to him, "Aren't you satisfied with being to me what Hārūn was to Mūsā, but with the exception that there is no Prophethood after me."<sup>23</sup> The attitude of the believers showed that they did not content themselves with fruit and shade; they preferred heat, thirst, and hunger for the sake of God. This was their booty, to be stored up for them in the hereafter.

Abū Khaythamah al Anṣārī said: "I stayed behind when the Messenger of Allah set forth. I went into my garden and saw my wife and an arbor which had been sprinkled with water, I said, 'This is not fair. The Messenger of God is out in the heat and the wind, and I am here in the shade, enjoying the pleasures of life.' I took some meat and dates and set forth. When I caught up with the army, the people saw me. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'It will be Abū Khaythamah.' So I came and he prayed for me."<sup>24</sup>

The poor believers were upset because they could not afford to go out for *jihād*. One such was 'Ulabah ibn Zayd, one of the weepers *al bakkā'in*, who prayed and wept at night, saying, "*Allāhumma*" O Lord, You have commanded *jihād*, and have encouraged us to do so. But You have not given me the means to go out with Your Messenger, and as *ṣadaqah* I have forgiven every Muslim who has done me wrong, either by harming me physically or

<sup>22</sup>Al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/27, with a *ḥasan* but *mursal isnād* going back to Qatādah.

<sup>23</sup>Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/17, and other chapters; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7/120-1.

<sup>24</sup>Narrated by al Ṭabarānī (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/119); Ibn Ishāq mentioned this report in detail, without *isnād* (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 4/163-4). Both 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah mentioned it and added to it (Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/7-8). Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/107, and Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 6/387-8, mentioned a part of this report, which was "It will be Abū Khaythamah."



by damaging my honor." The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him that God had forgiven him.<sup>25</sup>

Some of the Ash'arīs came, led by Abū Mūsā al Ash'arī, to ask the Prophet (ṢAAS) to give them camels to ride, so that they could go out for *jihād*. For some time, he could not find any mounts for them. Later he found three camels.<sup>26</sup>

Those who could not go out because of weakness or physical disability, or because they could not afford to do so, felt so upset that they wept, longing for *jihād*, and feeling embarrassed that they had to stay behind, until the following Qur'ānic verse was revealed concerning them:

There is no blame on those who are infirm, or ill, or who find no resources to spend (on the cause), if they are sincere (in duty) to God and His Apostle: no ground (of complaint) can there be against such as do right: . . . and God is oft-forgiving, most merciful. Nor (is there blame) on those who came to thee to be provided with mounts, and when thou saidst, "I can find no mounts for you," they turned back, their eyes streaming with tears of grief that they had no resources wherewith to provide the expenses. (*Al Tawbah* 9:91-2)<sup>27</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) singled out those who had stayed behind with a valid excuse, because their intention had been good. He said, "There are people in Madīnah who, if you go anywhere, or if you cross a valley, they are with you." The people asked, "O Messenger of God, are they in Madīnah?" He answered, "They are in Madīnah and they were prevented from joining us for a valid reason."<sup>28</sup> Ka'b ibn Mālik narrated that the only people left in Madīnah were the *Munāfiqūn* and those who had a valid excuse because of physical weakness.<sup>29</sup>

### The number of the army of Tabūk

Some reports were narrated concerning the number of the army. They appear to contradict one another, but they may easily be reconciled. Ka'b ibn Mālik said, "There were many Muslims with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

<sup>25</sup>The story of 'Ulabah ibn Zayd has been narrated with a weak *isnād* with many *makhārīj*. It has a *ṣaḥīḥ shāhid*, but without mentioning the name of the one who gave the *ṣadaqah*. On the whole it is valid as historical evidence. See Ibn Hajar, *al Isābah*, 4/546-8.

<sup>26</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/110-1). Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 4/398, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>27</sup>Al Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/211. Nothing has been proven *ṣaḥīḥ* concerning the names of those about whom the *āyah* was revealed, as the reports differ on this. Some say that it was revealed concerning the weepers or al 'Arbaḍ ibn Sāriyah, or 'Ā'idh ibn 'Amr, or Banū Muqrad.

<sup>28</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/126.

<sup>29</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/114).

but their names were not preserved in a book (meaning a record book)."<sup>30</sup> According to another report from Ka'b: "They (the Muslims) were more than 10,000."<sup>31</sup>

In *al Ikhl̄l*, al Ḥākim reported that there were more than 20,000, and Ibn Ishāq was certain about this number. Al Wāqidī said that he had 10,000 mounted troops with him. Perhaps Ka'b's report was referring to the number of mounted troops and excluded the rest of the army, the infantry. It was reported from Abū Zur'ah al Rāzī that the army were 40,000.<sup>32</sup> Zayd ibn Thābit said that they were 30,000.<sup>33</sup>

It seems that the majority of historians are inclined to say that the army were 30,000. This number indicates the extent to which the believers responded to the imperatives of faith in those harsh circumstances when the heat was intense and they were suffering hardship. This was the largest army which the Prophet (ṢAAS) led in his life. Al Wāqidī mentions that when the army had gathered, the Prophet (ṢAAS) took them from Madīnah through Dhū Khashab, 40 kilometers from Madīnah on the way to Syria. From there he set out towards Tabūk. His guide was 'Ilqimah ibn al Faghwā' al Khuzā'i.<sup>34</sup>

At Tabūk, he gave the largest standard to Abū Bakr al Ṣiddīq, and the largest flag to al Zubayr. He gave the flag of al Aws to Usayd ibn Ḥudayr, and the flag of al Khazraj to Abū Dujānah, and some say that he gave it to al Ḥabbāb ibn al Mundhir.<sup>35</sup> He ordered every clan of the *Anṣār* to take a standard and a flag, and the Arab tribes also had flags and standards. Zayd ibn Thābit carried the flag of Banū Mālik ibn al Najjār; Abū Zayd carried the flag of Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf, and Mu'adh ibn Jabal carried the flag of Banū Salamah.<sup>36</sup> Al Wāqidī is the only one who gives these details about the army's route and the distribution of the flags. Although he is *matrūk*, he gives abundant information about the *Ṣirah*, and accepting this sort of information from him is permissible.

### Those who stayed behind and did not participate in the Tabūk campaign

Three of the *Ṣaḥābah* stayed behind from the Tabūk campaign. They were: Ka'b ibn Mālik, Mar'arah ibn al Rabī', and Hilāl ibn Umayyah al Wāqifi. These

<sup>30</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* narrated by al Bukhārī (*Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/113).

<sup>31</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/112.

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/118.

<sup>33</sup>Al Wāqidī, *al Maghāzī*, 3/996.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 2/999. Al Wāqidī is *matrūk*. There is no need to examine the *isnād* of the report, because it states that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to join al Ṣuhr and 'Asr at Dhū Khashab. As this has to do with a *Sharī'ah* law, and al Wāqidī is too weak, I have referred to it in the text.

<sup>35</sup>Al Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 2/996; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt*, 3/169.

<sup>36</sup>Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 1/416, with his *isnād* also going back to al Wāqidī.

three *Anṣār* were known for the excellence of their faith. Ka'b ibn Mālīk had witnessed all the previous campaigns apart from Badr and the second Pledge at al 'Aqabah. He had delayed preparing for the campaign, but he had not resolved to stay behind. However, his procrastination, and his fondness of shade and fruit, overtook him, and the army set forth without him.

Marārah ibn al Rabī and Hilāl ibn Umayyah had both witnessed Badr. More than 80 other men<sup>37</sup> also stayed behind. Al Wāqidī mentioned that this number consisted of the Madīnan hypocrites. He also mentioned that the Bedouin from Banū Ghifār and other tribes who stayed behind numbered 82 men, and that these numbers were in addition to 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy and his followers whose number was great.<sup>38</sup> Everyone who stayed behind thought that no one would notice his absence from the army.<sup>39</sup>

On the way to Tabūk, the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked about some of those who had stayed behind. He asked Abārahūm Kulthūm ibn Ḥuṣayn al Ghifārī about those of Banū Ghifār and Banū Aslam,<sup>40</sup> and at Tabūk he asked about Ka'b ibn Mālīk.<sup>41</sup>

*Sūrat al Tawbah* described in detail the attitude of those who had stayed behind, and condemned their doing so when the general mobilization had made *jihād* a compulsory duty on each individual *farḍ 'ayn*. Then the *sūrah* announced that God Almighty had accepted their repentance and the *ṣadaqah* taken from their wealth, in that they had admitted that they were guilty of staying behind from the campaign, and had asked that their *ṣadaqah* might be accepted. The *sūrah* brought the wrongdoings of the *Munāfiqūn* into the open, saying that they did not believe in the predestination *qadr* of God, and that they loved life and disliked to fight in *jihād* themselves because they feared death. The *Munāfiqūn* had other faults: They might spend money unwillingly, without any good intention; they were only courageous in saying bad words; they accused others of being cowards, but if they were to be questioned about what they had said, they would claim that they were only joking! The Qur'ān refused to accept their excuses, announced that they were *Kāfirs*, and forbade any asking of forgiveness for them or praying over their dead. It promised them a long period of weeping in Hell in return for their laughter in this transient world, and forbade them to take part in any future *jihād* in order to reproach them, to purify the Muslim ranks of people like them, and to distinguish them from the believers, lest they spread weakness

<sup>37</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/114; al Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, 11/58, from the *mursal* of al Zuhri.

<sup>38</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/119.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 8/114.

<sup>40</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 4/172-3, from the report of Ibn Ishāq from al Zuhri. He did not state clearly that he heard it; but he used the wording "al Zuhri mentioned." He probably took it from al Zuhri's *Maghāzī*, and it had been narrated through Mu'ammār from al Zuhri (*Muwārid al Zamān fī Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān*, 418). The report is strengthened to the degree of *ḥasan li ghayrihi*.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/114.

and discouragement among the Muslims. One of the verses of the Qur'ān postponed any decision on those who had stayed behind and regretted doing so, who were neither hypocrites who had made excuses nor people who had stayed behind and then admitted their mistakes.

This *sūrah* rebuked those people of Madīnah and the Bedouin around the city who had stayed behind while explaining the great rewards of *jihād*, and was revealed because *jihād* becomes *farq' ayn* at a time of general mobilization.

## The arrival at Tabūk

Some sources mention the text of a long address which the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave at Tabūk. This *khuṭbah* has not been proven by a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*,<sup>42</sup> although sections of it are taken from other known *ḥadīth*, some of which are *ṣaḥīḥ* and some *ḥasan*. It seems that some of the narrators pieced together the *khuṭbah* from these *ḥadīth*.

At Tabūk, the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Khālīd ibn al Walīd, with a number of the *Ṣaḥābah*, to Dawmah al Jandal. 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr, with a *mursal isnād*, mentioned that he sent him with 420 mounted soldiers.<sup>43</sup> Khālīd captured Ukaydir ibn 'Abd al Malik, the king of Dawmah al Jandal, while he was hunting outside the city.<sup>44</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a peace treaty with him, on the condition that he pay the *jizyah*.<sup>45</sup> The Muslims were admiring a gown which Ukaydir had been wearing. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Do you admire this? By Him in Whose hand is my life, the napkins of Sa'd ibn Mu'adh in paradise are better than this."<sup>46</sup> It was reported that Khālīd's booty from Ukaydir was 800 prisoners, 1000 camels, 400 shields, and 400 spears.<sup>47</sup>

A gift from the king of Aylah to the Prophet (ṢAAS) reached him in Tabūk: it was a white mule and a cloak. The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a peace treaty with him on the condition that he pay the *jizyah*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup>Imām Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 3/38, and Abū 'Ubayd (*al Amwāl*, 255-6) narrated the text of a short *khuṭbah*. Their *isnāds* included Abū al Khattāb al Miṣrī, who is *majhūl*. Al Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr (*al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/13-14) reported the text of a long *khuṭbah*; his *isnād* includes 'Abd al 'Azīz ibn 'Imrān, who is *matrūk*.

<sup>43</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/17. His *isnād* includes Ibn Lahī'ah, from Abū al Aswad. Ibn Lahī'ah is weak here. In addition, this is one of the *mursal aḥādīth* of 'Urwah.

<sup>44</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *al Iṣābah*, 1/412-5, from Ibn Ishāq with an *isnād* from 'Aṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Anas, which would be *ḥasan* were it not for the *ar'ānah* of Ibn Ishāq, who is *mudallis*. al Suyūṭī, *al Khaṣā'ish al Kubrā*, 2/112-3, also from Ibn Ishāq, from his Shaykhs 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr and Yazīd ibn Rūmān; it is *mursal*. Ibn Ishāq clearly declared *samā'*.

<sup>45</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 4/182.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 4/170, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>47</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/17. Its *isnād* includes Ibn Lahī'ah from Abū Aswad, Ibn Lahī'ah is weak here. In addition this is one of the *mursal aḥādīth* of 'Urwah.

<sup>48</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al Jizyah*, 6/77; Muslim, *al Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al Faḍā'il*, 7/61.

A weak report indicates that there was an exchange of letters from Tabūk between the Prophet (ṢAAS) and Heraclius, the Byzantine ruler, and that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Dihyah al Kalbī to him, and that Heraclius sent al Tanūkhī to see some of the signs of the Prophethood.<sup>49</sup> If this were *ṣaḥīḥ*, it would be the second time that he had sent Dihyah, because he had taken a letter from the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Caesar at the beginning of the seventh year AH.

No fighting took place against the Byzantines during this campaign. The Muslims reached Tabūk and did not meet the Byzantine and Christian Arab tribes. The rulers of the cities preferred to make peace treaties on the condition that they pay the *jizyah*. The army spent 20 days<sup>50</sup> in Tabūk, then returned to Madīnah.

### The return from Tabūk

On the way back from Tabūk to Madīnah, the Muslims passed through al Ḥijr, which was the territory of Thamūd who (according to the Qur'ān) were tested with the mare camel, and had slaughtered her, so the (mighty) blast had overtaken them because of their rebellion.<sup>51</sup> The Muslims rushed to enter the ruined houses of al Ḥijr, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) forbade them from doing so and said, "Do not enter the dwelling places of those people who were unjust to themselves unless you enter in a weeping state, lest the same calamity as theirs should befall you." Then he covered his head and galloped away till he crossed the valley. He also forbade them to drink the water from its well or to use it for *wuḍū'*, and told them to feed their camels with any dough they had made with the water and not eat it themselves.<sup>52</sup>

The Muslims complained to the Prophet (ṢAAS) of the exhaustion of their camels on the way back. He prayed to his Lord: "O Lord, enable the camels to carry their burdens, as You can enable the weak and the strong, the wet and the dry, to carry burdens on land and sea." The camels regained their strength and brought their burdens to Madīnah, and the Muslims did not complain about them again.<sup>53</sup>

On the way back, the hypocrites, with their faces covered so that they would not be recognized, tried to startle the Prophet's mount, to make it throw him, but he saw them and ordered that they should be kept away.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 1/203; 3/442; 4/74; 5/292, with an *isnād* which includes Sa'īd ibn Abū Rāshid, who is *maqbul* and is the only one who reported it.

<sup>50</sup>*Mawārid al Zam'ān ilā Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān*, 145, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>51</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bari*, 4/118-9; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8/220-1).

<sup>52</sup>Ibn Kathir, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/11, with a *ḥasan* but *mursal isnād* going back to al 'Abbās ibn Sahl ibn Sa'd al Sa'idī.

<sup>53</sup>Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, 6/20, with a *ḥasan isnād*, *Mawārid al Zam'ān fi Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān*, 418.

<sup>54</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 5/390, with a *ḥasan isnād*. Al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/32-3, with two *isnāds*, one from Ibn Ishāq without *isnād* and the other from 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr, also *mursal*. The *isnād* going back to 'Urwah contains some weakness because of Ibn Lahī'ah.

When the army came closer to Madīnah, the young boys came out to Thaniyat al Wadā' to meet them.<sup>55</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Madīnah and prayed two *rak'ahs* in his mosque, then he sat with the people. The hypocrites who had stayed behind came to him, giving all kinds of excuses. He accepted their apparent intention, took the oath of allegiance from them and asked for forgiveness for them; he referred their secret thoughts to God. Ka'b ibn Mālīk came; he had been preceded by Hilāl ibn Umayyah and Marārah ibn al Rabī'. These three had decided that they had no excuse for staying behind, and they did not want to add the sin of lying to the sin of staying behind. The Prophet (ṢAAS) forbade the Muslims to speak to the three men, and the people avoided them for 50 days. Their wives were ordered to withdraw from them, so they went to their relatives except for the wife of Hilāl. He was a very old man, and she stayed just to look after him, with the permission of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The three felt depressed, and the king of al Ghasāsinah tried to take advantage of the situation by sending a letter to Ka'b ibn Mālīk, asking him to join him, but Ka'b burnt the letter and said that he was only being tried more. This ostracism continued until the following verse, which announced that God had accepted their repentance, was revealed.

(He turned in mercy also) to the three who were left behind; (they felt guilty) to such a degree that the earth seemed constrained to them, for all its spaciousness, and their (very) Souls seemed straitened to them, and they perceived that there is no fleeing from God (and no refuge) but to Himself. Then He turned to them that they might repent: for God is oft-returning most merciful. (*Al Tawbah* 9:118).<sup>56</sup>

### The *aḥkām* derived from the campaign of Tabūk

The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed *ṣalāh* behind 'Abd al Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, who led the Muslims in praying *Ṣalāt al Fajr* at Tabūk, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was late for a certain reason. When he came, 'Abd al Raḥmān wanted to stand back, but He (ṢAAS) motioned to him to complete the *ṣalāh*, and He prayed behind him. This indicates that the lesser is permitted to lead the *ṣalāh* and the greater may pray behind him.<sup>57</sup>

Mu'adh ibn Jabal asked him about a deed which would admit him to Paradise, while they were on the way back to Madīnah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied

<sup>55</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 5/390, with a *ḥasan isnād*. al Bayhaqī, *al Sunan al Kubrā*, 9/32-3, with two *isnāds*, one from Ibn Ishāq without *isnād* and the other from 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr, also *mursal*. The *isnād* and the other from 'Urwah ibn al Zubayr, are also *mursal*. The *isnād* going back to 'Urwah contains some weakness because of Ibn Lahī'ah.

<sup>56</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/113-116, from a report of al Bukhārī.

<sup>57</sup>Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/158-9; *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, 1/43-4.

that the head of such a deed was *shahādah*, its framework was *ṣalāh* and *zakāh*, and its pinnacle was *jihād*.<sup>58</sup>

During this campaign, he was asked about the *sutrah* (defining the space) of one who is performing *ṣalāh*. He answered that it should be the size of the end of a camel saddle.<sup>59</sup>

During this campaign, he combined *Ṣalāt al Ṣuhr* and *al Aṣr*, and *al Maghrib* and *al 'Ishā'*.<sup>60</sup>

He stayed in Tabūk for 20 days, and shortened the *ṣalāh* during that time.<sup>61</sup>

On the way to Tabūk, the Prophet (ṢAAS) "estimated a garden" in Wādī al Qurā, that is, he guessed the amount of ripe dates which could be harvested from the palm trees. This indicates that it is permissible to estimate.<sup>62</sup>

He asked for some water from a house in Tabūk and it was given to him in a container made of leather. Concerning the skin of the dead animal he said, "By tanning it, it becomes pure."<sup>63</sup>

The ostracizing by the *Ṣaḥābah* of the three who had stayed behind indicates that it is permissible to abandon a Muslim for more than three days if there is a *sharī* reason.<sup>64</sup>

This campaign achieved its aim of establishing the authority of Islam in the northern areas of the Arabian Peninsula, and was a prelude to the liberation of Greater Syria. Just before his death, the Prophet (ṢAAS) had prepared an army, under the leadership of Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah, but the army did not move until the *Khilāfah* of Abū Bakr al Siddīq, because the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS) prevented them from doing so earlier. In spite of the dangerous situation which threatened Madīnah and Islam itself, because of the (Apostasy) *Riddah* movement, Abū Bakr still insisted on sending the army to Syria. As soon as the situation had been brought under control, Abū Bakr equipped armies to liberate Syria and Iraq, in order to fulfill the Islamic mission of freeing mankind from tyranny and oppression, and the worship of anything other than God, "until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God altogether and everywhere." (*Al Anfal* 8:39)

<sup>58</sup> Ahmad, *Musnad*, 5/245-6, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>59</sup> Al Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 2/62, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>60</sup> Al Zarqānī, *Sharḥ Muwatta' Mālik*, 2/55-58.

<sup>61</sup> *Mawārid al Zam'ān ilā Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān*, 145, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 3/343-4.

<sup>63</sup> Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al Libās*, 4/64, with a *ḥasan isnād*.

<sup>64</sup> For the many benefits derived from this, see Ibn Hajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/123-4, where he gives details.

## **The Last Events**

- The Year of Delegations
- The *Ḥajj* led by Abū Bakr, 9 AH
- The Farewell Pilgrimage
- The Equipping of the Army of Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah
- The Death of the Prophet (ṢAAS)





## *Chapter 18*



## The Year of Delegations

The ninth year after the *Hijrah* was called the Year of Delegation '*Ām al Wufūd*' because, since the Prophet's (ṢAAS) return from al Ja'rānah at the end of the eighth year, delegations from the Arab tribes came from all over the Arabian Peninsula to declare their entry into Islam. The Arabs had delayed deciding about Islam until the liberation of Makkah and when that happened, all the people rushed to declare their acceptance of Islam. The *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd is considered to be the most comprehensive of the sources containing reports *akhbār* of these delegations.<sup>1</sup> The total number of delegations mentioned by the sources was more than sixty.<sup>2</sup>

In general, the sources gave the reports of these delegations without *isnād*. The earliest scholar who dealt with them in detail is Ibn Ishāq, but he only occasionally explains the sources of his information and the *isnāds* of his reports.<sup>3</sup> These rare reports are the *marāsīl* of al Zuhri, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abū Bakr and al Ḥasan al Baṣrī, except for the report of Ḍimām ibn Tha'labah coming as a delegate, for which he gives an *isnād* going back to Ibn 'Abbās and includes Muḥammad ibn al Walīd ibn Nuwayfi', who is acceptable but not followed. The report becomes weak because of him. The delegations which Ibn Ishāq mentions are the delegations of Banū Tamīm, Banū 'Āmir, Banū Sa'd ibn Bakr, 'Abd al Qays, Banū Ḥanīfah, Ṭayy', Banū Zubayd, Kindah, the Kings of Ḥimyar, Banū al Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, Hamdān, 'Adiyy ibn Ḥātim, Farwah ibn Masīk al Murādī, Ṣarad ibn 'Abd Allāh al Azdī, Farwah ibn 'Amr al Jidhāmī. One may also notice that Ibn Ishāq mentioned many poems in the reports of these delegations.

Ibn Sa'd<sup>4</sup> went into great detail and examined thoroughly every report about the delegations, but most of his reports came through al Wāqidī and Hishām al Kalbī, who are both *matrūk*. The rest, except for a very few reports, come through 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al Madā'inī, who is *ṣadūq*. However, all of the *isnāds* which Ibn Sa'd reported have some fault either with weak narrators or by being *mursal*. A few of his reports are from 'Affān ibn Muslim and 'Ārim ibn al Faḍl al Sadūsī.

Although these detailed reports of the delegations mentioned by the historians are not proved to be of *ṣaḥīḥ* transmission according to the *muḥaddithūn*, the reports of the coming of some of these delegations have been proved by *ṣaḥīḥ*

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<sup>1</sup>Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar referred to that, but he explained that he neglected to mention the delegation of Hawāzin among them.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 4/221-2; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/83.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 4/235, 241, 254, 260.

<sup>4</sup>Al *Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 1/291-359.

transmission, as have some other reports concerning them.<sup>5</sup> Al Imām al Bukhārī mentioned the coming of the delegation of Banū Tamīm, and *Sūrat al Hujurāt* told how some of them behaved in a way which showed that they had a rude and ill-mannered nature, i.e., they called to the Messenger (ṢAAS) in loud voices from outside his room, without asking permission from him. Undoubtedly *Sūrat al Hujurāt* was revealed to teach all the Muslims, on this occasion, the etiquette of addressing the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asking permission from him.

Al Bukhārī also mentioned the coming of the delegations of ‘Abd al Qays and Banū Ḥanīfah, among whom was Musaylimah, the imposter, who made it a condition of his embracing Islam that he would take control after the Prophet’s (ṢAAS) death; the Prophet (ṢAAS) said that if he had asked him for a piece of palm branch, he would not have given it to him, and he referred to the tumult and oppression which Musaylimah would cause. Al Bukhārī also mentioned the delegation of Najrān, among whom were al ‘Aqib and al Sayyid, the two rulers of Najrān. The Prophet (ṢAAS) called them to Islam, but they refused, so he called them to the trial through prayer, *mubāhalah* when the verse was revealed:

The similitude of Jesus before God is as that of Adam; He created him from dust, then said to him: “Be”: and he was. The truth (comes) from God alone; so be not of those who doubt. If anyone disputes in this matter with thee, now after (full) knowledge hath come to thee, say: ‘Come! let us gather together our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves: then let us earnestly pray, and invoke the curse of God on those who lie! (*Āl ‘Imrān* 3:59-61).

They wanted to accept this trial through prayer, but then they withdrew for fear that the verdict might go against them, and they asked for a peace treaty on the condition that they pay the *jizyah*. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū ‘Ubaydah ‘Āmir ibn al Jarrāḥ with them to collect it. Undoubtedly the peace treaty with the people of Najrān,<sup>6</sup> on the condition that they pay the *jizyah*, linked them with the Islamic state, and severed their ties with Byzantium. This lent security to the Muslims’ back while they were planning for a great confrontation with the Byzantines in Syria.

Al Bukhārī also referred to the delegations of the Ash‘arīs, of the people

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<sup>5</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/40.

<sup>6</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 3/167; ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt* 1/7.

of al Yaman, of Mūsā, and of Tayy', and the coming of 'Adiyy ibn Ḥatīm al Ṭāī.

Ibn 'Abbās mentioned that Banū Sa'd ibn Bakr sent Ḍimām ibn Tha'labah to Madīnah. He was a tough man with thick hair which he wore in two plaits. He made his camel kneel down at the door of the mosque and hobbled it. Then he entered upon the Messenger of Allah (ṢAAS) who was sitting with his companions. He said, "Which of you is the son of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I am the son of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib." Ḍimām said, "Muḥammad?" He said, "Yes." He said, "O Muḥammad, I am going to ask some very frank questions, but do not get angry, because I am not angry with you." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Ask whatever you want." Ḍimām said, "I adjure you by God, has God sent you to us as a Messenger (*Rasūl*)?" He said, "Allāhumma, yes." Ḍimām said, "I adjure you by God, has God commanded you that we should worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and that we should renounce the idols and rivals which our fathers worshipped?" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Allāhumma, yes."

Then Ḍimām began to mention the compulsory duties *farā'id* of Islam one by one, adjuring him by God each time. When he had finished, he said, "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and that you are His servant and messenger. I will perform all of these duties and refrain from whatever you have forbidden me: no more and no less will I do." Then he went away. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "If he does as he says, he will enter *jannah*."

Then Ḍimām returned to his people who gathered around him. He denounced al Lāt and al 'Uzzā before them. They said, "O Ḍimām, beware of leprosy and madness!" Ḍimām said, "Woe to you! By God, these two can neither harm nor benefit. God has sent to you a Messenger and has revealed a Book by which to rescue you from the state you were in. I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. I have come to you from him, with what he has ordered you to do and forbidden you to do." By Allah, by the time evening came, everyone who was present, both men and women, had embraced Islam.<sup>7</sup>

There is no doubt, then, that the delegations came to Madīnah in the ninth year to declare the acceptance of Islam by their tribes. But the texts of the detailed reports need to be looked at critically from the historical point of view. The poems, which may be subjected to stricter measures, also need to be examined, in order to determine whether or not they are *ṣaḥīḥ* from a historical point of view.

<sup>7</sup>Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 1/79; al Ḥākim, *al Mustadrak*, 3/54-55; Aḥmad, *al Musnad*, from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās. Al Ḥākim deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ*, and al Dhahabī agreed with him, but it is only *ḥasan* because it comes through Ibn Ishāq, and includes Muḥammad ibn al Walīd ibn Nuwayfi' al Asadī, who is *maqbul*. It has a *mutaba'ah* in a report of Abū Dāwūd through Salamah ibn Kuhayl, who is *thiqah*. The two Imāms al Bukhārī and Muslim briefly mentioned Ḍimām's coming to Madīnah. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/32; al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/22.

In any case, Islam prevailed over the Arabian Peninsula in the ninth year, and it was united for the first time in its history under the flag of Islam, although it had seen the development of small states and political systems before Islam. None of these small states, however, such as Ma'īn, Sabā', Ḥimyar, Kindah, al Ghasāsīnah and al Munādhīrah, had been able to unite the Arabian Peninsula under its flag. Indeed, the civilizations of these small states had diminished, and nomadism had taken over in their centers before the coming of Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) managed to unite the Arabian Peninsula in less than ten years, despite the strength of the individual spirit and deep entrenchment of tribal *'aṣabīyah* and *jāhili* attitudes. It was not a superficial unity: it was strongly entrenched in their spirit, mentality, and behavior. For this reason, the Arabian Peninsula became a strong and firm foundation on which the Islamic state would be built, a state whose authority would hold sway over areas of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

## *Chapter 19*





## The Ḥajj Led By Abū Bakr, 9 AH

The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not perform *ḥajj* in the year of the liberation of Makkah; he performed *ʿumrah* and returned to Madīnah. The *Mushrikūn* and Muslims performed *ḥajj* together in the eighth year. In the ninth year, he ordered Abū Bakr to perform the *ḥajj*. Abū Bakr went out to Makkah in Dhū al Ḥijjah.<sup>1</sup> Al Wāqidī is the only one who mentions the number of people who performed *ḥajj* with him: he said that there were 300 of the *Ṣaḥābah*, who took 20 sacrificial animals with them.<sup>2</sup>

When Abū Bakr had left Madīnah with the intended pilgrims, *Sūrat Al Tawbah (Barāʾah)* was revealed. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent ʿAlī ibn Abū Tālib with the first part of the *sūrah* to announce it to the people on the occasion of the *ḥajj*, on the Day of Sacrifice, which is the tenth of Dhū al Ḥijjah. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "None shall transmit it from me but a man of my own house."<sup>3</sup> When Abū Bakr saw ʿAlī, he asked him whether he had come to give orders or to convey them. He replied, "To convey them." They went on together,<sup>4</sup> Abū Bakr as leader (*Amīr*) of the *ḥajj*, and ʿAlī to convey the first part of *Sūrat Barāʾah*. A number of the *Ṣaḥābah*, including Abū Hurayrah, helped them to relay it to the people.<sup>5</sup>

It was reported that ʿAlī ibn Abū Tālib was sent with four commands: "No unbeliever shall enter Paradise; no naked person shall perform *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿbah; no *mushrik* will perform *ḥajj* after this year; and whoever has made a treaty with the Prophet (ṢAAS), it will remain valid until the agreed time elapses."<sup>6</sup>

The first part of *Sūrat Barāʾah* drew a clear distinction between the Muslims and the idolaters. It forbade the idolater's performing *ḥajj* after the ninth year, and declared war on them. It gave those who were in an alliance with the Muslims a respite until their alliance expired, and it gave those who had an

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Sa'd stated that with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād* going back to Mujāhid (*al Ṭabaqāt al Kubrā*, 2/168). Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 4/201.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/82.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Ishāq, with a *ḥasan isnād*, but it is from the *mursal* of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al Bāqir (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 4/203; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/65). It has *shawāhid* and is strengthened by them. Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/37-8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad*, *Hadīth* no. 549, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*; al Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 4/116, and he deemed it *ṣaḥīḥ*; al Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10/63-4.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/38. Transmitting from the *Musnad* of Aḥmad; he said, "Its *isnād* is *jayyid*."

agreement *ʾahd* with the Muslims unlimited time, or limited the time to four months, beginning on the tenth of Dhū al Ḥijjah. The agreement gave those idolaters who had no agreement until the end of the Sacred Months, which was 50 days, ending with the beginning of Muḥarram. When these times were up, they would be in a state of war with the Muslims.<sup>7</sup>

A (declaration) of immunity from God and His Apostle, to those of the Pagans with whom ye have contracted mutual alliances: Go ye, then, for four months, backwards and forwards, (as ye will), throughout the land, but know ye that ye cannot frustrate God (by your falsehood) but that God will cover with shame those who reject Him. And an announcement from God and His Apostle, to the people (assembled) on the day of the great pilgrimage, that God and His Apostle dissolve (treaty) obligations with the pagans. If then, ye, repent, it were best for you. (*Al Tawbah* 9:1-3)

Twenty-two years of the Islamic mission had passed, during which the Muslims had exerted every effort and followed every permitted way to spread the message. However, some *Mushrikūn* still persisted in worshipping idols and performing *ṭawāf* around the Ka'bah according to the rites of the *Jāhiliyyah*. The time had now come to distinguish them clearly and to put an end to their stubbornness and ignorance of the call to the truth.

The matter was not confined to that; it was supported by a campaign of awareness and Islamic propagation and the organization of the remote areas which had come under the Islamic state. Before the farewell pilgrimage, the Prophet (SAAS) sent Abū Mūsā al Ash'arī and Mu'ādh ibn Jabal to the Yaman, each one of them to administer a province. He exhorted them both and said, "Facilitate things for the people, and do not make things difficult for them. Be kind and lenient with the people, and do not be hard on them, and give the people good tidings, and do not repulse them."<sup>8</sup> He said to Mu'ādh:

You will come to the people of the scripture, and when you reach them, invite them to testify that none has the right to be worshipped except Allah alone and that Muḥammad (SAAS) is His Messenger. And if they obey you in that, then tell them that God has enjoined on them five *ṣalāh* to be performed every day and night. And if they obey you in that, then tell them that God has

<sup>7</sup>Al Ṭabarī, 10/66, 74. This is one of the reports which al Ṭabarī thinks is more plausible. Ibn Kathīr suggested that the *ṣaḥīḥ* is as follows: "Whoever had a treaty with the Muslims, his respite would last until that treaty expired, even if that exceeded four months; whoever did not have any treaty at all, his respite would last four months; the third group consisted of those whose treaties would expire before the end of four months. This group would probably have been joined to the first, so that their respite would last until their treaties expired, even if that were less than four months. More than likely these would be given a respite for four months, because they had priority over those who had no treaty at all; and Allah knows best."

<sup>8</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī (Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/99).

enjoined on them five *ṣalāh* enjoined on them *ṣadaqah* (i.e., *zakāh*) to be taken from the rich amongst them and given to the poor amongst them. And if they obey you in that, then be cautious! Don't take their best properties (as *zakāh*) and be afraid of the curse of an oppressed person as there is no screen between his invocation and God.<sup>9</sup>

The Prophet (ṢAAS) first sent Khālīd ibn al Walīd to the Yaman, then he sent 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib in his place. 'Alī stayed there, returning to perform the farewell pilgrimage with the Prophet (ṢAAS). 'Alī had succeeded in spreading Islam among the tribes of Hamadān.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Narrated by al Bukhārī (Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/104).



## *Chapter 20*



## The Farewell Pilgrimage

*Ḥajj* is one of the five pillars of Islam and was made obligatory in the tenth, ninth or sixth year, according to different reports.<sup>1</sup> In the tenth year the Prophet (ṢAAS) announced that he intended to perform *ḥajj*; this was the only time that he performed *ḥajj* after the *Hijrah* to Madīnah. The Muslims came from all over the Arabian Peninsula to perform *ḥajj* with him. He left Madīnah five days before the end of Dhū al Qa'dah.<sup>2</sup> When he halted in 'Arafāt, the following *āyah* was revealed to him: ". . . This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favor upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion. . ." (*Al Ma'idah* 5:4)<sup>3</sup>

The Muslims learned the rituals of the *ḥajj* from the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he said, "Take your rituals from me." His *ḥajj* was full of laws pertaining to the *sharī'ah*, especially matters pertaining to the *ḥajj*, and general advice and laws which were mentioned in the Sermon of 'Arafāt. For this reason, the scholars showed great interest in the farewell pilgrimage and derived many laws from it, dealing with the rituals of *ḥajj* and other matters, of which the books of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* explanation are full. Some of the scholars wrote books dealing specifically with the farewell pilgrimage.

A large gathering of Muslims participated in the event. They listened to the farewell sermon *Khutbat al Wadā'* which he gave at 'Arafāt in the middle of the *Ayyām al Tashrīq* (three days following the tenth of Dhū al Ḥijjah).

Verily your blood and your property are as sacred and inviolable as the sacredness of this day of yours, in this month of yours, in this land of yours. Behold! Everything pertaining to the days of ignorance is under my feet completely abolished. Abolished are also the blood revenges of the days of ignorance. The first claim of ours on blood revenge which I abolish is that of the son of Rabī'ah ibn al Ḥārith, And the usury *ribā* of the pre-Islamic period is abolished, and the first of our usury I abolish is that of 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, for it is all abolished. Fear God concerning women! Verily you have taken them on the security of God, and intercourse with them has been made lawful unto you by words of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/109.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hajar, *Fath al Barī*, 8/104; Ibn Ishāq, with a *ḥasan isnād* (*Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, 4/272). Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/111. This is the same as Ibn Ishāq's report. He said, "Its *isnād* is *jayyid*."

<sup>3</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (*Fath al Barī*, 8/108).



God. You too have rights over them, and they should not allow anyone to sit on your bed whom you do not like. But if they do that, you can chastise them but not severely. Their rights upon you are that you should provide them with food and clothing in a fitting manner. I have left among you the Book of God, and if you hold fast to it you would never go astray. And you would be asked about me (on the day of resurrection), (now tell me) what would you say? They (the audience) said: "We bear witness that you have conveyed (the message), discharged (the ministry of Prophethood) and given wise (sincere) counsel." He (the narrator) said: "He (the Prophet) then raised his forefinger toward the sky and pointed it at the people (said): "O God, bear witness, O God, bear witness."<sup>4</sup>

He delivered another sermon at Minā, when he said, "Do not return to *Kufr*, killing one another, after I am gone."<sup>5</sup>

On the way back from the farewell pilgrimage, the Prophet (SAAS) addressed the people at Ghadīr Khum, near al Jaḥfah, on the eighteenth of Dhū al Ḥijjah. He took 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib's hand and said, "Alī is the friend of one whose friend I am." 'Alī had come back from the Yaman and had performed the farewell pilgrimage.<sup>6</sup> Some of the soldiers had complained about 'Alī, saying that he treated them harshly and that he had taken back some clothes which his deputy had distributed among them. At Ghadīr Khum, the Prophet (SAAS) explained to them the status of 'Alī, and drew attention to his merits, so that they would stop complaining.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The report is from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4/38-43, from the *ḥadīth* of Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh. Al Shaykh Muḥammad Nāsir al Dīn al Albānī made some brief additions to it, from other books of *ḥadīth* which narrated the *ḥadīth* of Jābir with some *ṣaḥīḥ* additions (*Ḥijjat al Nabī*, pp. 71-73. See the report of Jābir's *Ḥadīth* in *Ḥijjat al Nabī*, 38-41.

See part of the *khuṭbah* in *Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/108). Ibn Ishāq mentioned the long text of the farewell *khuṭbah* without *isnād*. Imām Aḥmad mentioned the long text of the *khuṭbah* of the farewell pilgrimage, which was given in the middle of the *Ayyām al Tashrīq*. Its *isnād* includes 'Alī ibn Zayd ibn Jad'ān, who al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar, in *al Taqrīb*, said was weak. Al Bannā said. "Al Bazzār narrated a similar report with the same meaning from Ibn 'Umar with a different *isnād*." The Imāms of *ḥadīth* narrated parts of it in their books, in different chapters, through *ṣaḥīḥ isnāds*; and Allah knows best. (*Al Faṭḥ al Rabbānī*, 279-281.

<sup>5</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/107; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/82.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/209. He reported that the *isnād* of the *ḥadīths* was *jayyid qawī*, and he mentioned it with other *isnāds*, one of which al Dhahabī deemed *ṣaḥīḥ*. In 5/212, he added to it the Prophet's (SAAS) saying "Our Lord, be the friend of whoever befriends 'Alī, and be the enemy of whoever is the enemy of 'Alī. "Concerning its *isnād*, he said," It is a *jayyid isnād*, and its men are *thiqāt* according to the conditions of the *Sunan*." Al Tirmidhī had deemed another *ḥadīth* with the same *isnād* to be *ṣaḥīḥ*.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 5/106.

## *Chapter 21*



## Equipping The Army of Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah

The Prophet (ṢAAS) returned to Madīnah from the farewell pilgrimage. The rest of Dhū al Ḥijjah, and Muḥarram and Ṣafar of the tenth year, passed. Then he began to prepare an army to go to Syria. He appointed Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Ḥārithah as commander and ordered him to march towards al Bilqā' and Palestine. The people prepared themselves. Among them were *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and Usāmah ibn Zayd who was only eighteen years old. Some of the people began to speak about the fact that he had been appointed as commander over the older *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* when he was a freedman and very young. The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not accept their criticism of the appointment of Usāmah and he ordered them to treat him well.<sup>1</sup> But the campaign was delayed because the Prophet (ṢAAS) became ill only two days after the preparations had begun. Usāmah had taken the standard which the Prophet (ṢAAS) had himself tied, and camped in al Jarf.<sup>2</sup> Al Wāqidī is the only one who mentioned the size of Usāmah's army, he said that it numbered 3,000 men.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See al Bannā al Sa'ātī, Aḥmad 'Abd al Raḥmān, *al Faṭḥ al Rabbānī*, 21/221-223.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4/328; Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/152.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Faṭḥ al Bārī*, 8/152.



## *Chapter 22*



## The Death of The Prophet (ṢAAS)

The Prophet (ṢAAS) fell ill approximately three months after he returned from the farewell pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup> His illness began in the house of Maymūnah<sup>2</sup> and lasted for ten days.<sup>3</sup> He died on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' al Awwal,<sup>4</sup> aged sixty-three.<sup>5</sup> It is *ṣaḥīḥ* that his complaint had begun in the seventh year, just after the conquest of Khaybar, when he ate a piece of poisoned meat which the Jewish wife of Salām ibn Mashkam had offered to him. Although he spat it out and did not swallow it, the poison still affected him.<sup>6</sup> He told his wives that he wanted to be cared for in the house of 'Ā'ishah *Umm al Mu'minīn*.<sup>7</sup> She used to wipe him with his own hand because of its blessing while reciting the *Mu'awwadhatayn*, the last two *sūrah*s of the Qur'ān.<sup>8</sup>

When death was approaching as his illness grew worse, he said to the *Ṣaḥābah*, "Shall I write for you something after which you will not go astray?" They differed among themselves: some of them wanted to fetch writing materials, and others feared lest this be too troublesome for him. It seems that there is evidence to support this which suggests that the order to bring writing materials was not so much an imperative command as a suggestion. When 'Umar said, "The Book of God is enough for us," the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not repeat the suggestion. If what he had wanted to say had been obligatory, he would have spoken it to them, as he had also, while he was ill, told them verbally to expel the idolaters from the Arabian peninsula and treat the delegations with respect and generosity.<sup>9</sup>

He called Faṭimah to him, and said something to her in secret, and she wept. Then he called her and said something to her in secret, and she laughed. After his death, she said that he had told her that he was going to die, so she

<sup>1</sup>Ibn Kathīr said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died 81 days after the day of the great *Hajj* (*al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/101).

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Ḥajar said that this is the report which was agreed upon. Other conflicting reports say that he was taken ill in the house of Zaynab bint Jahsh or Rihānah. *Fath al Bārī*, 8/129.

<sup>3</sup>Sulaymān al Timī asserted this. Al Bayhaqī narrated it with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*. It is more likely that it was 13 days. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/129.

<sup>4</sup>Al Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar adopted Abū Mikhnaf's suggestion that he died on the second of Rabī' al Awwal and that the others mistakenly added "*ashar*" (ten) to "*thānin*" (two). Ibn Ḥajar: *Fath al Bārī*, 8/130.

<sup>5</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/150).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 8/131.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 8/27; Aḥmad, *Al Musnad*, (*al Fath al Rabbānī*, 21/226), with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>8</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al Bārī*, 8/131).

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 8/132.



had wept; then he had told her that she would be the first of his family to join him, so she had laughed.<sup>10</sup> This came to pass. It was a sign of Prophethood.

His illness became more severe and prevented him from going out to lead the people in *ṣalāh*. He said, "Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in *ṣalāh*." 'Ā'ishah preferred him not to do that, because she was afraid that the people might regard her father as a bad omen. She said, "Abū Bakr is a gentle man, his voice is soft and he weeps a great deal when he reads the Qur'ān."<sup>11</sup> But the Prophet (ṢAAS) insisted on that. So Abū Bakr went and led them in *ṣalāh*.<sup>12</sup> The Prophet (ṢAAS) came out once, supported by al 'Abbās and 'Alī, led the people in *ṣalāh*, and delivered a speech in which he praised Abū Bakr and explained his virtues. He indicated that God had given him the choice between this world and the hereafter, and that he had chosen the hereafter.<sup>13</sup>

His last *khuṭbah* was given five days before his death. In it, he said: "There is a servant of God who has been shown this world and its beauty, but who has chosen the hereafter." Abū Bakr understood that he meant himself, so he wept. The people looked at him in surprise, because they had not understood the same meaning.<sup>14</sup>

At the time of *Ṣalāt al Fajr* on the day of his death, the Prophet (ṢAAS) drew back the curtain of 'Ā'ishah's room and looked at the Muslims who were in rows for the *ṣalāh*. Then he smiled and laughed, as if he were saying farewell to them. The Muslims were almost overcome with joy because he had come out. Abū Bakr stood back because he thought that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wanted to come out to lead the *ṣalāh*, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) motioned to him with his hand to complete the *ṣalāh*. He then went into the room and drew the curtain.

Fāṭimah came in and said, "How painful it is for my father!" He said to her, "Your father will suffer no pain after today."<sup>15</sup>

Usāmah ibn Zayd came in, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed silently for him with a gesture; he could not speak because of the severity of the illness.<sup>16</sup>

When death came, he was leaning on 'Ā'ishah's bosom. She had taken a *siwāk* from her brother 'Abd al Raḥmān, and chewed the end to soften it, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) had cleaned his teeth with it.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 8/135.

<sup>11</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 4/330, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/233.

<sup>12</sup>Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., 5/232-3.

<sup>13</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/27. See also Aḥmad, *al Musnad al Fatḥ al Rabbānī*, 21/231; Ibn Kathīr, *al Bidāyah wa al Nihāyah*, 5/229-230.

<sup>14</sup>Aḥmad, *Musnad (al Fatḥ al Rabbānī)*, 21/222, footnote no. 3). *Turkat al Nabī*, narrated by al Bukhārī, Muslim, Aḥmad and al Bayhaqī, with an *isnād* whose men are *thiqah* but which is *mursal*.

<sup>15</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī* (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al Bārī*, 8/149).

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 4/329, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>17</sup>al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ (Fatḥ al Bārī)*, 8/138).

He used to dip his hand into a container of water, and wipe his face with it, saying, "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*, there is agony of death."<sup>18</sup> His voice became hoarse when he was saying, "... In the company of those on whom is the grace of God ..." (*Al Nisā'* 4:69),<sup>19</sup> and, "Nay, rather the Exalted Companion of Paradise." Then 'Ā'ishah knew that he was being given the choice, and that he had chosen the Exalted Companion.<sup>20</sup>

He, may God bless him and grant him peace, was taken when he was lying with his head in 'Ā'ishah's lap, in the forenoon, or some say at noon. Abū Bakr, who had been absent in al Sanāḥ, came in and lifted up the cloth which had been placed over the Prophet's (ŞAAS) face. Then he bent over him and kissed him, and went out to the people. They were divided between believing and denying the news of this crisis. He saw 'Umar speaking to the people and denying that the Prophet (ŞAAS) had died. The people gathered around Abū Bakr, and he said, "No doubt! Whoever worshipped Muḥammad, then Muḥammad is dead, but whoever worshipped God, then God is alive and shall never die. God has said:

Muḥammad is no more than an Apostle: many were the Apostles that passed away before him. If he died or were slain, will ye then turn back on your heels? If any did turn back on his heels, not the least harm will he do to God; but God (on the other hand) will swiftly reward those who (serve Him) with gratitude. (*Āl Imrān* 3:144)

Then the people fell silent. 'Umar sank to the ground, because his legs would not bear him. It was as if they had never heard this *āyah* until that moment.<sup>21</sup>

Fāṭimah, may God be pleased with her, said:  
O my father, he answered the call of his Lord,  
O my father, his abode is in the garden of paradise,  
O my father, we announce his death to Jibrīl.<sup>22</sup>

May God give peace and blessings and grace to His Prophet,  
and to his family and companions.

"All Praise is due to God, Lord and Sustainer  
of all the worlds."

*Wa al Ḥamdu li Allāh Rabb al 'Ālamīn.*

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 8/144.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 8/136.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid. Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, 4/329, with a *ṣaḥīḥ isnād*.

<sup>21</sup>*Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī (Fatḥ al Bārī, 8/145).*

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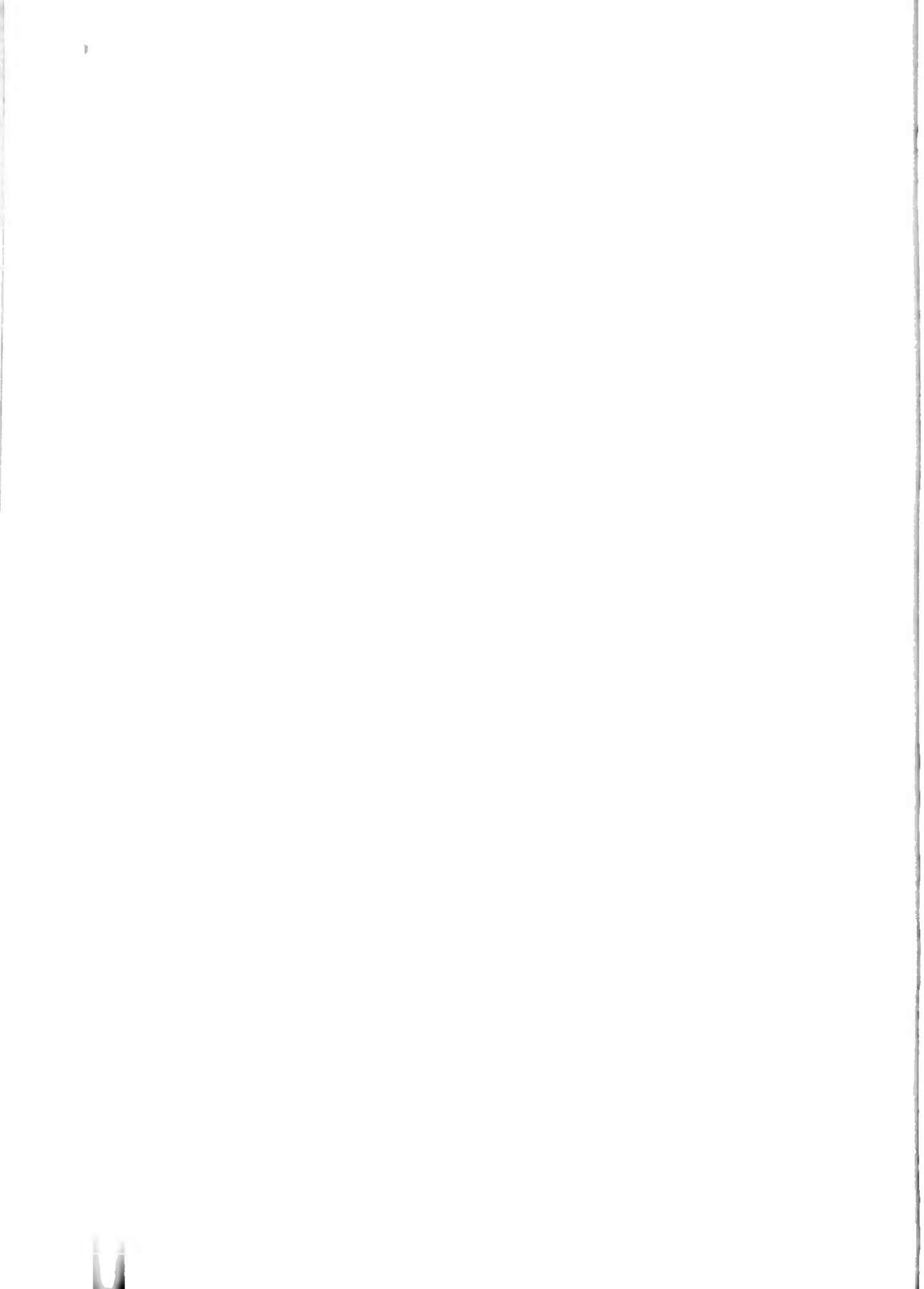
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- To provide a comprehensive Islamic outlook through elucidating the principles of Islam and relating them to relevant issues of contemporary thought.
- To regain the intellectual, cultural, and civilizational identity of the Ummah through the Islamization of the humanities and social sciences.
- To rectify the methodology of contemporary Islamic thought in order to enable it to resume its contribution to the progress of human civilization and give it meaning and direction in line with the values and objectives of Islam.

The institute seeks to achieve its objectives by:

- Holding specialized academic conferences and seminars.
- Supporting and publishing selected works of scholars and researchers in universities and academic research centers in the Muslim world and the West.
- Directing academic studies toward furthering work on issues of Islamic thought and the Islamization of Knowledge.

The Institute has a number of overseas offices and academic advisors for the purpose of coordinating and promoting its various activities. The Institute has also entered into joint academic agreements with several universities and research centers.

**Intenational Institute of Islamic Thought**  
**555 Grove Street, (P.O. Box 669)**  
**Herndon, VA 22070-4705 U.S.A.**  
**Tel: (703) 471-1133 • Fax: (703) 471-3922**